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THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY
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THE
IOWA JOURNAL
OF
HISTORY AND POLITICS

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THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS
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VOL. XIV—1

THE INDIAN AGENT IN THE UNITED STATES BEFORE 1850

[This is the first of a series of four articles dealing with one phase of the history of the administration of Indian affairs in the United States with special reference to Iowa. Indeed, the last two articles in the series will be devoted entirely to the work of the Indian agents in the Iowa country. The subject of this study was suggested by Dr. Louis Pelzer, Assistant Professor of History in the State University of Iowa, under whose direction the research was first carried on.—AUTHOR.]

INTRODUCTION

Since the time when the first white settlers landed in America there has been almost constant friction between the aboriginal inhabitants and the newcomers. Along the line of the constantly receding frontier the two races have faced each other for centuries — sometimes as open enemies, and always as rivals. The various national and State governments in North America have struggled with the problem of pacifying and protecting the Indians without permanently checking the advance of the pioneers. The treachery of which the white people have been accused has been, for the most part, due to the struggle between these opposing forces — the desire of the government to satisfy the Indians, at least temporarily, and the irresistible expansion of the white race.

When the English colonists first came in contact with the natives three lines of procedure were open to them: (1) to recognize the sovereignty of the Indian tribes and their ownership of the land; (2) to recognize their political sovereignty without recognizing their right to the soil; or (3) to refuse to treat with them as independent nations in any way. At first the English were inclined to adopt the second

policy, at least in theory, and made treaties with the various tribes. When the Indians refused to cede lands, the colonists had no scruples against seizing the country by force; and the right of the Indians to their hunting grounds was disregarded. The United States made its first official treaty with the Indians (the Delawares) in 1778 and maintained the pretence of recognizing the sovereignty of the native tribes until 1871,¹ when treaty-making with Indian tribes was prohibited. During all this time, however, the United States denied to the Indians the right to transfer their lands without the consent of the government at Washington, often compelling them to cede lands against their will. The status of the Indian tribes and of individual Indians has always been indefinite. Appeals to the Supreme Court have resulted in decisions no more satisfactory than the opinion handed down in 1832 by Associate Justice John McLean in which it was held that "They [the Indians] do not constitute . . . a foreign state . . . and yet, having the right of self government, they, in some sense, form a state."²

As the Indians slowly retreated before the white men, the government of England, the governments of the Colonies, and later the government of the United States, each in turn, attempted to establish peace. The story of one failure has been the story of all such attempts. A treaty was made; friendship was declared; the Indians ceded lands and received in return annuities and presents; a boundary line was marked off; and for a few years there was a peace which was only suspended hostility. Then the pioneers, driven westward by insatiable land-hunger, crossed the line and settled on the unceded lands of the Indians. There were protests, massacres, and retaliations, a campaign by the

¹ *Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1890, p. xxix.

² *Worcester vs. The State of Georgia*, 6 Peters 515, at 581.

troops, and another treaty in which more land was ceded, more presents given, and another "peace" was established. In so far as these periods of open hostility constituted real wars they contradict the claim that all race wars are fomented by governments and that racial antagonism between individuals is not a natural feeling.

THE INDIAN AGENT DURING COLONIAL TIMES

In the intercourse between the white men and the natives, the English-speaking settlements have been represented by six general classes of individuals, so far as direct contact is concerned, namely: explorers, missionaries, traders, settlers, military officers, and official agents and commissioners. In early colonial times, these groups were not clearly defined. Traders were explorers and often became settlers. Most frontiersmen engaged in Indian trade; and missionaries, traders, officers, and settlers sometimes acted as official representatives of the government. The development of a class of public officers whose sole duty was to administer Indian affairs was a slow process, yet the different lines of the work now performed by the Indian agents were to be found in colonial times. Experience has resulted only in a clearer definition of the work and in higher specialization.

Before the middle of the eighteenth century official representatives of the white man's government were present among the Indians only on special occasions or in a quasi-public capacity. The Governors or their delegates occasionally met the Indians in council and made necessary agreements with them. When distant tribes were to be reached men who had some personal interest in the savages were often asked to represent the colonial administration. About 1687, for example, an Albany interpreter, who lived among the Onondagas, attended their councils as a representative of New York.³ The Council of Pennsylvania, in

³ Hanna's *The Wilderness Trail*, Vol. I, p. 4.

1690, requested Lacy Cock, who was going up the Schuylkill River, to secure information concerning the ammunition possessed by the French. Provision was also made for the distribution of presents.⁴

Official relations with the Indians at this time were largely affected by the rivalry between the French and the English for the trade and friendship of the leading tribes — particularly the Iroquois and the tribes along the Great Lakes and the Ohio River. The necessities of the struggle for America dictated the Indian policy of both France and England during this period. Agents were sent among the Indians to win their confidence and support. An instance of the work of these agents is to be found in 1730 when South Carolina sent Sir Alexander Cuming on a mission to the Cherokees, which resulted in their acknowledging the English supremacy.⁵ Another factor which was even more important in the eyes of many colonists was Indian trade; indeed, many of the political leaders were also traders. Men like William Johnson kept agents in the field to trade with the Indians and these representatives also served to attach the Indians to the English cause.⁶

By 1750 there had appeared in the colonies a group of persons who had great influence over the Indians. Among them were Christopher Gist, Dr. Thomas Walker, George Croghan, Andrew Montour, William Johnson, and Conrad Weiser. Some of these men were of humble origin, but they were on intimate terms with the Indians and brought valuable information to the colonial officers. George Croghan, for example, was an illiterate frontiersman, yet he was admitted as a councillor of the Six Nations in 1746.⁷ At the

⁴ *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania*, Vol. I, pp. 334, 335.

⁵ Greene's *Provincial America*, p. 251.

⁶ Hanna's *The Wilderness Trail*, Vol. I, p. 5.

⁷ Hanna's *The Wilderness Trail*, Vol. II, p. 30.

outbreak of the French and Indian War Croghan was living at Aughwick on the frontier, where he surrounded himself with Indian dependents, for whose support the colony of Pennsylvania sometimes granted him sums of money.⁸ He seems to have been seldom at home, however, for he was constantly among the Indian tribes either as a trader, interpreter, or agent. In 1748 he was sent to Logstown, on the Ohio, in company with Conrad Weiser to attach the Indians to the English cause and to extend the trade of Pennsylvania; and he made another journey in 1751 in company with Andrew Montour, the half-breed interpreter and trader. It was their duty to gain the good will of the Indians and, as usual, presents were distributed. On the second trip, Croghan and Montour met a French agent, Joncaire, who was on a similar mission for his government.⁹ French agents, both traders and military officers, were busy among the Indians and seem to have been superior, as a class, to the English who mingled with the red men of America.

It was such men as Croghan and Weiser who won the friendship of the Indians. Living in close touch with them, sometimes bound to them by ties of blood or marriage, they sent repeated warnings to the Governors and assemblies that they must prepare to drive out the French.

As New York was one of the first Colonies to develop a policy of Indian affairs and since the organization there was the most complete, an account of Indian administration in that Colony will illustrate the work of agents during the period under consideration. A board of commissioners appointed by the royal Governor was in charge, and by 1698 a

⁸ Hanna's *The Wilderness Trail*, Vol. II, pp. 4, 10.

⁹ Hanna's *The Wilderness Trail*, Vol. II, pp. 1, 2.

special secretary for this work was provided.¹⁰ These commissioners, like those in most of the other Colonies, were usually merchants and consequently were interested chiefly in Indian trade. Their official duties were supervisory, and they met the Indians only when they desired to make special agreements with them. New York's preëminence in Indian affairs was largely due, however, to one man, William Johnson, who came to have great influence over the Iroquois because of his tact and hospitality, and was relied upon to keep them in the service of the English. This Irish settler — who was farmer, trader, diplomat, and soldier at the same time — was looked upon by the Indians as their friend and protector, but his popularity was due to his personality rather than to his position. Governor Clinton recognized his superior talent for handling Indians, as is shown by these words in a letter to the Duke of Newcastle in 1747: "Coll. Johnson who I have employ'd as Chief Manager of the Indian War and Colonel over all the Indians, by their own approbation, has sent several parties of Indians into Canada".¹¹ The act of the Governor thus referred to substituted the control of one man for that of the commissioners and to some extent transferred the control of the Indians to the Crown. Peter Wraxall, secretary for Indian affairs in New York, said in a report submitted in January, 1756, that this step had been taken by Governor Clinton because the Dutch commissioners at Albany were more interested in the profits of the Indian trade than in the success of England against France.¹²

At the close of the war in 1748, colonial interest in the

¹⁰ *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. IV, p. 491.

¹¹ *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. VI, p. 358.

¹² *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. VII, pp. 14, 16, 19.

Indians decreased. Private enterprise was sufficient to secure furs from the natives, and the New York Assembly refused to furnish William Johnson with presents. At last Johnson resigned his commission as the official representative of New York, preferring to act as a private trader.¹³ His personal influence, however, remained undiminished.

The peace established by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was unstable both in Europe and America. The impending crisis in the struggle for America soon stirred the colonial governments to renewed energy, and the movement of settlers westward brought new protests from the Indians. In May, 1750, deputies from the Six Nations met the representatives of Pennsylvania at George Croghan's establishment and requested the Governor of Pennsylvania to send "two or three faithful Persons over the Mountains who may be agreeable to him and us, with Commissions empowering them immediately to remove every one who shall presume after this to settle there, until the Six Nations shall agree to make Sale of their Land."¹⁴ This request for officers to prevent settlements on unceded lands was followed by many similar petitions. Jealousy among the Colonies, however, both as to western lands and Indian trade prevented any consistent or uniform policy. Agents were sent to the Indian tribes by the various Colonies, but these agents represented merely the Colony which employed them and were willing to sacrifice the common good for its advantage. When Governor Clinton of New York asked the Assembly to assist Pennsylvania in securing the aid of the Indians along the Ohio River against the French, the members of the Assembly replied that they had taken care of their Indians and Pennsylvania would have to do the same.¹⁵

¹³ *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. VI, p. 739.

¹⁴ *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania*, Vol. V, p. 441.

¹⁵ Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*, Vol. I, p. 61.

The royal Governors representing the centralized government, as a rule, recognized the importance of Indian affairs more clearly than did the colonial assemblies. Colonists were ready to spend money to extend their own trade but not that of their neighbors. In 1755 James Crockatt, the agent for South Carolina, said that the gifts of that Colony to the Indians amounted to between 7000 and 8000 pounds annually.¹⁶ The same year Cadwallader Colden wrote to Governor Clinton, expressing his idea of Indian administration in these words: "I am of the opinion, that they can only be managed by one single person of sufficient ability, as Superintendent of Indian affairs, who shall not be allowed to trade in any shape directly or indirectly."¹⁷

At the beginning of the French and Indian War various plans for establishing and maintaining English supremacy among the border tribes were suggested. In July, 1754, William Johnson advised that a missionary and a blacksmith should be located at Onondaga, and that young men be sent among the Indians to learn the Indian language and to serve as schoolmasters.¹⁸ Another suggestion is found in a report of Peter Wraxall, secretary of Indian affairs in New York, made to General William Johnson in January, 1756: "Let there be two persons of approved abilities, known integrity and agreeable to the Indians appointed by Commissions from His M^{ty}, with adequate Salaries, as superintendants for Indian affairs in North America, one for the Six Nations and their Allies, and one for the Southern district". The superintendents were to reside near the Indians, and among other duties, they were to hold meetings with the natives, issue presents, appoint agents and inter-

¹⁶ Dickerson's *American Colonial Government, 1696-1765*, p. 337.

¹⁷ *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. VI, p. 744.

¹⁸ *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. VI, pp. 898, 899.

preters, and decide upon a uniform system of carrying on their work. Factors at Indian forts and store-houses might also be agents among the Indians of the township in which they resided. An intendant of trade was to be located at Oswego to discover impositions upon the Indians.¹⁹ In this plan the main features of the later Indian agent system are outlined.

In the meantime war had begun. Action by the colonial governments was too dilatory and inconsistent to be satisfactory, and in 1755 William Johnson was reappointed by General Braddock²⁰ as sole superintendent and manager of Indian affairs among the Six Nations, and in the following year this appointment was confirmed by a commission from the Crown. At the same time Edmund Atkins²¹ was appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the southern Colonies, and the English territory was thus divided into two superintendencies.

Johnson's official duties consisted of a combination of the work done by modern Indian agents and the supervisory activities of the colonial commissioners of Indian affairs. He treated the savages more as friends and equals than as inferiors and wards, and was responsible directly to the government in England, although he was expected to work with the commander-in-chief of the troops. The Indians were delighted with the plan. Francis Parkman says that they "loved and trusted him [Johnson] as much as they detested the Indian commissioners at Albany, whom the province of New York had charged with their affairs, and who, being traders, grossly abused their office."²² The advan-

¹⁹ *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. VII, p. 26.

²⁰ *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. VI, p. 961.

²¹ Dickerson's *American Colonial Government, 1696-1765*, p. 341.

²² Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*, Vol. I, p. 172.

tage of the centralized management must have been evident to all except the traders and illegal land purchasers. It substituted control by one man, who was well known among both Indians and white men for his fairness and hospitality, for the control by various colonial boards, which managed affairs first for their own personal advantage, and secondly for the benefit of their own particular Colonies.

Johnson began his work with his usual energy. Soon after his appointment he wrote to the Lords of Trade, recommending that warehouses for the sale of commodities, rum excepted, should be established near the forts. Men who could speak the Indian tongue were to be put in charge of these trading stations and were to act as resident agents and interpreters accountable to the superintendent.²³ These men were the forerunners of the United States factors.

Johnson's position was one of great difficulty. Although he had sole authority over the Indians by virtue of his commission from the King, his relations to the commander-in-chief of the army and the colonial governments were ill-defined. In 1756 Governor Hardy of New York wrote of Johnson, that he would "execute this Commission for the Publick utility if he be not obstructed, by agents employed by the Commander-in-Cheif or from other Governments, who by such means may be tempted to create an influence to themselves by endeavoring to lessen Mr. Johnson's reputation among the Indians".²⁴ Johnson, himself, complained of the "lawless behaviour and villanous conduct of these Agents of Govr. Shirley's".²⁵ On the other hand, colonial

²³ *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. VI, p. 963.

²⁴ *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. VII, p. 3.

²⁵ *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. VI, p. 994.

agents were jealous of Johnson's influence. In June, 1759, a Pennsylvania provincial agent at Fort Pitt, wrote to the commissioners that George Croghan, Johnson's deputy agent, had assumed the power of licensing traders and was competing in the Indian trade.²⁶

Other Colonies attempted to establish more friendly relations with their Indian neighbors. In 1756 Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia advised the building of forts in the West and the stationing at these forts of blacksmiths and schoolmasters, who were to teach the Indians English and the principles of morality.²⁷ The real purpose of this plan was to counteract French influence and, as usual, presents were the chief reliance in gaining the friendship of the Indians. In a letter of 1757, it was said that "Gist's Employ'm't is to take care of the Indians and to deliver them presents with discretion."²⁸ This was Christopher Gist who was deputy Indian agent for the southern Indians.

Massachusetts, in 1758, attempted to protect the rights of the Indians to unceded lands by an act which provided for the appointment of three guardians who were to reside near every Indian plantation. These officers were to allot lands to the Indians, lease what the owners could not use, distribute the money to the Indians, and in general prevent unscrupulous men from taking advantage of the natives.²⁹

Although men who took charge of Indian affairs at this time were often called agents, it is evident that the term is used in the general sense that any one who represents an-

²⁶ Hanna's *The Wilderness Trail*, Vol. II, p. 325.

²⁷ *Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. II, p. 339, in the *Virginia Historical Collections*, Vol. IV.

²⁸ *Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. II, p. 715, in the *Virginia Historical Collections*, Vol. IV.

²⁹ *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part 2, p. 610.

other person or group of persons is an agent. The Colonies had agents in England as well as among the Indians. Land companies were represented by agents. Moreover, the official duties of the men who carried on Indian affairs can often be distinguished with difficulty from their work as private individuals. They distributed presents, made treaties, and protected the Indians from land purchasers; they regulated trade, but were often engaged in it themselves; and they were interested in the welfare of the Indians only so far as it affected the attitude of the Indians towards the English.

By 1763 the administration of Indian affairs was carried on by the two superintendents, Sir William Johnson in the North among the Iroquois, and Captain John Stuart in the South among the Creeks and Cherokees.³⁰ Johnson had three deputies, each of whom received three hundred pounds a year. His plan also provided for a commissary, an interpreter, a blacksmith, and missionaries at each central place.³¹ The value of such missionaries in dealing with the Indians was frequently recognized. In 1762 Christian Frederick Post was asked by the Governor of Pennsylvania to act as his ambassador to the Delaware Indians.³²

The close of the French and Indian War marked the beginning of a new period in colonial affairs. The removal of the danger from the French made the colonists more averse to the control of internal affairs by the mother country, while it gave the Lords of Trade in England what seemed to them a freer hand in establishing a uniform system of deal-

³⁰ Farrand's *The Indian Boundary Line* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. X, pp. 783, 787.

³¹ *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. VII, pp. 659, 662.

³² Rice's *The Rev. John Heckwelder* in the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications*, Vol. VII, p. 317.

ing with Indian trade, western lands, and other related problems.

According to the plan suggested by the Lords of Trade in 1763 and 1764, but not adopted, the continent was to be divided into two departments, each under an agent. All provincial laws concerning these matters were to be repealed and the crown agents were to have charge of all matters relating to war, lands, treaties, and all questions concerning the relations of the whites and the Indians, independent of local or military control. There were to be two deputy agents in the South and three in the North. In each southern tribe there was to be a commissary, an interpreter, and a blacksmith, subject to the supervision of the agent. Thus the South was to have the same kind of organization that Johnson had used in the North. Four missionaries in each district were to reside wherever the agent directed. Both agents and commissaries were to be justices of the peace and Indians were to be permitted to testify in court.³³ Land could be purchased only at a general meeting presided over by an agent, while a commissary might supervise the election of a chief. This plan, although approved by Governor Colden and William Johnson, never became a law, partly because of the opposition of the Colonies and partly because it was estimated that some twenty thousand pounds would be required to finance it.³⁴

The commissaries, as this plan outlined their duties, more nearly resembled the Indian agents of the present time than did the so-called agents, for they were resident among the Indians while the agents frequently were not. As justices of the peace these officers were empowered to settle all disputes between traders and Indians and between individual

³³ *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. VII, pp. 634-640.

³⁴ Dickerson's *American Colonial Government, 1696-1765*, pp. 350-354.

traders, to the amount of ten pounds, but an appeal might be taken to the chief agent or superintendent, or to his deputy. Johnson, who had a similar system already in operation in the North, received a great deal of information from his agents in the western posts.³⁵

The Proclamation of 1763 was an attempt to quiet the fears of the Indians concerning the westward advance of the pioneers. Settlement west of the Allegheny Mountains was forbidden and it was made the duty of all military officers and "those Employed in the Management and Direction of Indian Affairs, within the Territories reserved as aforesaid for the use of said Indians, to seize and apprehend all Persons whatever" who fled to this country to escape punishment for crimes.³⁶

The period between 1763 and the Revolutionary War produced no new method of dealing with the Indians. Friction between the colonial officers and the officers of the Crown tended to diminish the respect of the Indians for the whites. There seems, also, to have been difficulty between the agents and the military authorities, for in 1764 Croghan wrote to Alexander McKee that the agents had been made independent of the officers at the forts. As the idea of union sprang up among the Colonies, so too, the Indian tribes became united by the common bond of dislike for the people who were crowding them out of their inheritance.

Johnson and Stuart remained at their posts, and in 1767, in a letter to the Earl of Shelburne, Johnson wrote:

The Persons I have appointed as Commissarys are Gentlemen of understanding and Character known to the Indians and acquainted with their dispositions — My three Deputies have each a District allotted for their Visitation, and transacting all business subject to my directions, but as yet their powers are not at all ascertained, the

³⁵ Carter's *Great Britain and the Illinois Country, 1763-1774*, pp. 16-18.

³⁶ *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 18, 19.

Commissaries have no authority, and it is not in my power to enable them to execute their Office as they ought.³⁷

It was at this critical period that the English government, prompted by a spirit of economy,³⁸ attempted to shift the conduct of Indian affairs to the colonial governments, hoping by this means to transfer the financial burden to the colonists, who refused to pay taxes. In 1768 the Earl of Hillsborough, English Secretary of State for the Colonies, directed Johnson to entrust the supervision of Indian trade to the provincial governments. The military establishments were likewise decreased and the commissaries and smiths were no longer provided for. The two superintendents were continued at a salary of a thousand pounds annually and given three thousand pounds for presents and incidental expenses. Johnson protested against the removal of his subordinates who were his chief sources of information and petitioned for an additional thousand pounds for his three deputies and interpreters,³⁹ but received no answer to his protest. In February, 1769, Johnson wrote that the order for the removal of the commissaries and smiths would soon be obeyed;⁴⁰ but when Governor Moore of New York asked his Assembly for money with which to fill their places with colonial officers only one hundred and fifty pounds were voted.⁴¹

³⁷ Hanna's *The Wilderness Trail*, Vol. II, p. 31; *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. VII, p. 893.

³⁸ The English and the Americans were not the only people who had agents among the Indians. Both the French and Spanish had traders and emissaries in the Indian country and Johnson speaks of the high character of the French agents.—*Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. VII, p. 965.

³⁹ *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. VIII, pp. 7, 57, 58, 86.

⁴⁰ *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. VIII, p. 150.

⁴¹ *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. VIII, p. 185.

The council at Fort Stanwix in October, 1768, reveals the various officers connected with Indian affairs at the close of the colonial period. At the making of the treaty the whites were represented by Sir William Johnson, superintendent for the Crown, William Franklin, Governor of New Jersey, Thomas Walker, commissioner from Virginia, Fred Smith, chief justice of New Jersey, Richard Peters and James Tilghman, commissioners from Pennsylvania, George Croghan, Daniel Claus, and Guy Johnson, deputy agents, and three interpreters.⁴²

In June, 1774, the Indian department in the North consisted of Sir William Johnson, superintendent and sole agent whose salary was 1000 pounds a year, and four deputies who received 200 pounds each.⁴³ Information from distant tribes was obtained by means of resident agents, such as Alexander McKee who was stationed on the Ohio River, and through friendly Indians.⁴⁴ At the death of Sir William Johnson in 1774 Guy Johnson, his son-in-law who had been deputy agent, was made his successor.⁴⁵

Thus the administration of Indian affairs in colonial times exhibits the two elements so important in the development of all phases of American government: (1) centralization of authority, represented by the crown superintendent; and (2) diffusion of power, represented by the provincial commissioners and agents whose interests were limited to their particular colonies.

It is with these agents — the men who lived among the Indians and worked with them personally — that this paper

⁴² *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. VIII, p. 112.

⁴³ *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. VIII, p. 455.

⁴⁴ Griffis's *Sir William Johnson*, p. 220; Hanna's *The Wilderness Trail*, Vol. II, p. 25.

⁴⁵ *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. VIII, p. 489.

is concerned. Those who represented the Crown were more regularly employed than those who represented the government in most of the Colonies; otherwise there was little difference, and men like George Croghan and Christopher Gist were sometimes employed by the Colonies and sometimes by the crown superintendent. They were by turns traders, interpreters, messengers, special envoys, and explorers.

INDIAN AGENTS DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

At the outbreak of war between England and the American Colonies both sides were anxious to secure the friendship of the Indians. The British government retained the system already established and its emissaries were busy with promises and presents. Colonel Guy Johnson removed the missionaries of the dissenting churches from among the Iroquois⁴⁶ because his chief difficulty with this confederacy came from a village where a New England missionary had been stationed;⁴⁷ furthermore, the association of religious dissent and political rebellion was recognized. British agents among the southern Indians precipitated the struggle for Kentucky and Tennessee. The Virginians, however, recognized the danger of losing Kentucky, and one of the incidents of the border war at this time was the invasion of the Cherokee country in the hope of capturing Alexander Cameron, the British agent among the Cherokees.⁴⁸

Possibly the people of that time exaggerated the importance of the work of these British Indian agents, but the border massacres which they sometimes instigated created more bitter feeling against the mother country than did the

⁴⁶ James's *George Rogers Clark Papers*, p. xv, in the *Illinois Historical Collections*, Vol. VIII.

⁴⁷ *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. VIII, p. 657.

⁴⁸ Hulbert's *Historic Highways of America*, Vol. VI, pp. 149, 152; Ramsey's *Annals of Tennessee*, pp. 143, 144.

campaigns of Howe and Cornwallis. In 1778 these words appear on the record of Congress: "That from the presence of Mr. Butler and Mr. Magee, two of the British agents for Indian affairs, amongst the Indians . . . it appears incontestibly that this cruel war has been industriously instigated, and is still prosecuting with unrelenting perseverance, by principal officers in the service of the king of Great Britain, particularly by Colonel Hamilton".⁴⁹ One of the conditions of the treaty with the Six Nations in 1779 was the expulsion of the British agents and emissaries.⁵⁰ Ten years after the close of the Revolution, President Washington declared that "All the difficulties we encounter with the Indians, their hostilities, the murder of helpless women and children along all our frontiers, results from the conduct of the agents of Great Britain in this country."⁵¹

To these groups of officers representing the governments of England and of the various Colonies or States the Revolutionary War added still another. The United Colonies, later the United States, soon organized a system of Indian affairs and attempted to counteract the influence of the British agents. Several conditions made this undertaking unusually difficult. The Colonies themselves were jealous of centralized control, for each one wished the monopoly of Indian trade and lands for itself. Money for the required presents was often lacking and the Indians feared the westward expansion of the Americans which continued even during the war.

The newly organized States continued to employ the system of administering Indian affairs which the Colonies had inaugurated. The representatives of the individual Com-

⁴⁹ *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Library of Congress edition), Vol. XI, p. 587.

⁵⁰ *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Library of Congress edition), Vol. XV, p. 1320.

⁵¹ Hulbert's *Historic Highways of America*, Vol. VI, p. 157.

monwealths were first of all to look after the interests of their own States, but sometimes they assisted in the work planned by Congress. In the instructions given to Nathaniel Gist in March, 1778, he was directed to engage interpreters and to induce Indians and frontiersmen to enlist; and he was told that in order to "accomplish this business with the greater ease and certainty, the agents from the different states, residing in the Indian countries for the managing of Indian affairs, are desired and directed to give you all possible assistance."⁵²

The second Continental Congress appointed a committee on Indian affairs on June 16, 1775, and resolved that, although the United Colonies preferred that the Indians should remain neutral, the Colonies ought to make an alliance with the Indian tribes if British agents incited the natives to hostilities.⁵³

Soon after this the Congress provided for the administration of Indian affairs by dividing the territory into three departments. The northern department included the Six Nations and the Indians north of them; the southern, the Cherokees and the Indians to the south; and the middle department embraced the territory between the other two. In organizing the administration in these departments the Congress followed the old colonial policy of appointing commissioners rather than the British plan of entrusting Indian administration to a single superintendent. The sum of ten thousand dollars was granted to the commissioners in the South for presents and expenses, while two-thirds of that amount was assigned to each of the other departments. These boards of commissioners — made up of three or five men, often representatives of the Colonies — were to have

⁵² *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Library of Congress edition), Vol. X, pp. 228, 229.

⁵³ *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Library of Congress edition), Vol. II, pp. 93, 123.

power to appoint assistants from among the Indian tribes, and "agents" who were to reside near or among the Indians, watch the King's superintendents and their deputies or agents, and arrest them if necessary.⁵⁴ Among these commissioners were Benjamin Franklin, Patrick Henry, Philip Schuyler, and Oliver Wolcott.⁵⁵

The commissioners used the old and well known methods of dealing with the Indians. In addition to the official agents, they employed many men who were personally influential among the Indians because of their profession or occupation. For example, in November, 1775, Rev. Samuel Kirkland was paid \$113 for his influence in bringing Indians to a council at Albany and a salary of \$289 a year as a missionary.⁵⁶ The northern commissioners were directed to hire two blacksmiths to reside among the Six Nations and to provide an interpreter who was to receive \$222.20 per year.⁵⁷ On April 10, 1776, it was voted that a minister of the gospel, a schoolmaster, and a blacksmith should be employed at reasonable salaries, to reside among the Delaware Indians.⁵⁸ The commissioners were also instructed to ask Jacob Fowler, a missionary among the Montauk Indians, and Joseph Johnson of the Mohegans upon what terms they would reside among the Six Nations and instruct them in the Christian religion.⁵⁹ In the eyes of the members of the

⁵⁴ *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Library of Congress edition), Vol. II, pp. 175, 176.

⁵⁵ *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Library of Congress edition), Vol. II, p. 183.

⁵⁶ *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Library of Congress edition), Vol. III, p. 351.

⁵⁷ *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Library of Congress edition), Vol. III, p. 366.

⁵⁸ *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Library of Congress edition), Vol. IV, p. 267.

⁵⁹ *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Library of Congress edition), Vol. IV, p. 111.

Congress, the Christian religion and the American cause were evidently synonymous terms.

Although use was made of as many auxiliary agencies as possible, the chief reliance was upon the work of official representatives who were usually traders or military officers. Their official employment was often temporary and the salaries were uncertain. Like the colonial agents, they had charge of the work among certain Indians and the territory under their jurisdiction was unlimited. The appointments were made by the commissioners of the departments, often under the direction of Congress.

Among the Indian agents who served during the war Colonel George Morgan, a trader of some note, seems to have been unusually successful and was noted for his generosity and strict honesty — qualities rare among Indian agents and much admired by the Indians. He was appointed agent for the middle department by Congress in 1776. His policy is expressed in these words taken from his *Letter Book* for July 30, 1776: "We shall ever hold it our duty to exert our utmost influence to prevent hostilities and to promote peace and Harmony with the Indian Tribes."⁶⁰ Some of the duties assigned him illustrate the work performed by the agents at that period. At one time he was directed to distribute a ton of powder "to such Indians as the agent shall be convinced are in our interest."⁶¹ At another time Morgan was empowered to purchase two horses, with saddles and bridles, for Captain White Eyes, an influential and friendly chief.⁶² He was also required to settle disputes

⁶⁰ James's *George Rogers Clark Papers*, pp. xvii, xviii, xxx, in the *Illinois Historical Collections*, Vol. VIII.

⁶¹ *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Library of Congress edition), Vol. IV, p. 318.

⁶² *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Library of Congress edition), Vol. IV, p. 268.

concerning land purchases, some of which were west of the Ohio River.⁶³

The salaries of the men who represented the United States were usually less than those paid by the Crown. The agents were appointed by the Congress for special work and for indefinite periods; and their salaries were apparently even more indefinite. In one place it is recorded that Congress voted \$400⁶⁴ to an agent in the middle department for expenditures, but the period of time for which he was employed was not specified. At another time Robert Yates, secretary of Indian affairs for the Commissioners, was appointed at the annual salary of \$250.⁶⁵ Later in the war James Deane, agent and interpreter for the commissioners in the North, received an annual salary of \$600 and \$10,000 for goods for the Indian trade.⁶⁶

The regulation of Indian trade was an important question at a time when the friendship of the Indians was so much desired. Congress found great difficulty in satisfying the demands of the Indians for goods and presents. An attempt was made to import goods on the credit of the United States and have them sold by licensed traders at prices fixed by the commissioners, and at posts chosen by them. To prevent the exploitation of the Indians, it was resolved that "no Traders ought to go into the Indian country without licence from the agent in the department; and that care be taken by him to prevent exorbitant prices for goods being exacted from the Indians."⁶⁷ The distribution of food was

⁶³ *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Library of Congress edition), Vol. XII, p. 1180.

⁶⁴ *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Library of Congress edition), Vol. V, p. 786.

⁶⁵ *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Library of Congress edition), Vol. IV, p. 260.

⁶⁶ *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Library of Congress edition), Vol. XI, p. 456.

⁶⁷ *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Library of Congress edition), Vol. IV, pp. 97, 318.

an important factor in retaining the good will of the Indians, and this was one of the duties of the agents. On August 18, 1779, John Todd wrote from the Illinois country asking for an additional agent to distribute food to the Indians and recommended a Monsieur Perrault for this position.⁶⁸

Because of lack of funds and because of the close relation between military affairs and the Indian department, it was suggested at one time that the commanding officers at the western posts should be invested with the powers of agent,⁶⁹ but this plan did not become the general policy.

The close of the Revolutionary War made Indian affairs of less importance, but some permanent plan of administration was needed. General Washington wrote to James Duane in 1783: "How far agents for Indian affairs are indispensably necessary, I shall not take upon me to decide; but, if any should be appointed, their powers should be circumscribed, accurately defined, and themselves rigidly punished for every infraction of them. A recurrence to the conduct of these people, under the British administration of Indian affairs, will manifest the propriety of this caution". He also suggested that agents should be given ample salaries and that they should not be allowed to trade.⁷⁰

In July, 1786, Congress revoked the commissions of the Indian commissioners and by an ordinance passed on August 7, 1786, reorganized Indian affairs. The territory of the United States was divided into two districts, separated by the Ohio River. Each district was in charge of a bonded superintendent, who received \$1000 annually. The

⁶⁸ James's *George Rogers Clark Papers*, pp. 357, 358, in the *Illinois Historical Collections*, Vol. VIII.

⁶⁹ *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Library of Congress edition), Vol. XIX, pp. 281, 282.

⁷⁰ Sparks's *Life and Writings of Washington*, Vol. VIII, p. 481.

northern superintendent was to appoint two deputies who were to receive \$500 a year, and these officers were to reside in or near their districts and report to Congress through the Secretary of War. Among their duties were the regulation of trade, the licensing of traders, the reporting of evidences of hostility, and the distribution of presents.⁷¹ Their term of office was to be two years, but at the expiration of that period Congress made temporary appointments for short periods until the new Constitution went into effect and the new administration began.

No important change in the Indian department took place at this time, nor was there a definite Indian policy adopted. The term "agent" was still used indiscriminately of any representative of the government among the Indians, whether he were a man of influence or a half-breed trader who lived among the Indians by preference and served the government only occasionally. In their official capacity, these "agents" were diplomatic rather than philanthropic, acting for the benefit of their own governments without much thought as to the well-being of the Indians.

The Indian had been considered an important factor in the struggle between France and England and between the Colonies and the mother country. He had been bribed, threatened, and cajoled by "agents" from the various countries, and he was still considered dangerous on the frontiers. To the settler he was an impediment to progress; to the trader he afforded an opportunity for personal aggrandizement. A few people believed that he might be civilized; but even men like Washington, who had declared again and again that justice and honesty must be our policy, looked forward to ultimate extinction as a solution of the difficult problem. The danger from a foreign alliance with

⁷¹ *Journals of the American Congress* (Way and Gideon edition), Vol. IV, pp. 664, 677, 678, 679.

the Indians was over, temporarily, and the acquisition of land and the extension of trade became the chief incentive in the conduct of Indian affairs.

INDIAN AGENTS, 1789-1849

When the Federal Constitution went into effect in 1789 the question of Indian affairs was not considered of immediate importance, and the old plan of sending agents to the Indians only when it was absolutely necessary was continued. When the office of Secretary of War was created by the act of August 7, 1789, Indian affairs were assigned to that department, but it was not until much later that any administrative work was taken up. The only demand for agents among the Indians seems to have arisen out of the need of regulating Indian trade, and this regulation was provided for in 1790 by giving the President power to appoint a superintendent who should have the authority to license traders for periods of two years.⁷²

The first act of Congress directly providing for Indian agents was the one approved on March 1, 1793, which gave the President power to provide presents and to "appoint such persons, from time to time, as temporary agents, to reside among the Indians, as he shall think proper"; but the expenses were not to exceed \$20,000. The provision concerning the appointment of agents was repeated in 1796 and again in 1802, but the amount appropriated for presents was \$15,000 a year, and this was the annual expenditure until 1818.⁷³

Economy was one of the chief characteristics of the administration of Indian affairs during the early years under the Constitution. In June, 1792, Secretary Knox wrote to General Chapin, a deputy agent, that "the system of Indian

⁷² *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. I, pp. 50, 137.

⁷³ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. I, pp. 331, 472; Vol. II, p. 143.

expenses and allowances are by no means to be measured by the helter-skelter conduct which was observed under the late management, which, in several instances, were unjustifiably expensive." James Seagrove, the agent to the Creeks, was criticized for extravagant estimates of the amount of money required for his agency, and also for holding councils with the Indians outside their country, where the members of the tribes who attended had to be fed by the government and furnished with presents to take home. In general, the agents were expected to keep the Indians in good humor, at as little expense as possible to the government; and it was their business to calculate how far the white settlers could force their way into the Indian country without causing open hostility.⁷⁴

Since Indian wars were dreaded by the government, it was the policy of those in authority to keep as many men as possible somewhere in the Indian country, or near enough to the Indians to enable them to report all action on the part of the tribesmen. Many of the early treaties made provision for the maintenance of white men among the Indians, and theoretically for their benefit. Article twelve of the treaty made with the Creeks in August, 1790, provided that in order that "the Creek nation may be led to a greater degree of civilization, and to become herdsmen and cultivators, instead of remaining in a state of hunters, the United States will, from time to time, furnish gratuitously the said nation with useful domestic animals, and implements of husbandry. And further, to assist the said nation in so desirable a pursuit, and at the same time to establish a certain mode of communication, the United States will send such, and so many persons, to reside in said nation, as they may judge proper, and not exceeding four in number, who shall qualify themselves to act as interpreters. These persons shall have

⁷⁴ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, pp. 237, 254.

lands assigned them by the Creeks for cultivation, for themselves and their successors in office; but they shall be precluded exercising any kind of traffic.”⁷⁵

A persistent effort was made to convince the Indians that such representatives were sent entirely for their benefit and that their appointment was really a great favor to the Indians. President Washington sent a message to the Senecas in 1790, promising to send an agent to them who should reside near them and to whom they could apply for advice and assistance. In fact, the Indians themselves were inclined to look upon the appointment of a white man as their agent, as an honor to them, partly because they recognized the superiority of the white race, and partly because such an officer was able to transmit their complaints to the President. The natives were beginning to recognize their inferiority to the white men, especially in business transactions, and they were still confident that the government could compel the traders and land speculators to deal fairly with them. An illustration of this confidence is to be found in the request of the Cherokees in 1792 that a person of reputation should reside among them as their counsellor and protector. These requests for agents were not, however, always spontaneous, for Secretary Knox, in his instructions to the commissioners, who were sent to make peace with the Ohio Indians in 1793, directed them to induce the Indians to permit agents to reside among them as “protectors and friends”.⁷⁶

Many of the agents at this time were frontiersmen or traders; some were military officers; while a few were men of education and refinement who believed in the possibility of civilizing the Indians. The position at this time required men who were aggressive and fearless, for it was often nec-

⁷⁵ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, p. 82.

⁷⁶ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, pp. 143, 245, 341.

essary to decide quickly and there was no provision for any protection for the agent, except the possibility of war. All agents were required to live among the Indians to whom they were assigned. They did not, however, always conform to this requirement, for the Creeks complained that their agent, James Seagrove, remained outside the nation and derived his information from interpreters and assistants who were frequently traders. Seagrove admitted that he had remained outside the Indian country, but declared that he could not reside among the Indians with safety, for Governor Telfair of Georgia often aroused the hostility of the Indians by coercive measures, without paying any attention to the United States officials.⁷⁷

Since the agents were usually sent to the Indians in accordance with treaty provisions, it is clear that their status depended largely upon the agreement made with the particular tribe. For the most part their duties related to the Indian trade and to the settlement of disputes between the Indians and the whites. They were also frequently called upon to persuade the Indians to cede lands or to permit forts or roads to be constructed within their territory. For example, Return J. Meigs, an Indian agent in the South, was chiefly employed in persuading the Cherokees to relinquish some of their lands, or at least to permit a road to be laid out through their country. The methods employed were not always such as to convince the Indians of the superior morality of the white officials. In this case, Meigs was ordered to offer "Vann", a Cherokee chief, some special inducements; and thus the concession was finally obtained in 1805.⁷⁸

An interesting account of the work done among the Creeks in 1801 was given by Benjamin Hawkins, chief agent

⁷⁷ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, pp. 371, 409.

⁷⁸ *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 187.

or superintendent south of the Ohio River. He had arranged for the holding of a council annually in May, to which the Indians sent delegates. The agent kept the records of the council and had the right to enter the council-house and speak at any time, and when he was not present one of his deputies or interpreters took his place, for the Indians were accustomed to remain in the council-house day and night, eating, sleeping, and debating as they pleased. It was the duty of the agent to furnish supplies of beef, corn, beans, and salt to the assembled Indians. Hawkins had also introduced sheep-raising; and he employed a woman to teach the Indian women how to spin, and a young man to make looms and to teach the trade of weaving. In this case a State officer had been entrusted with the power of licensing traders and when he failed to do so, the agent had permitted trade to be carried on without licenses. Two public establishments were maintained—one among the Upper Creeks and one in the country of the Lower Creeks. At each of these a blacksmith was employed, working under the direction of the agent. Disputes were settled by three men appointed by the agent if the parties were white men, but by the agent himself if one of the parties was an Indian.⁷⁹

The number of men employed in the Indian department in the early days was much smaller than the importance of Indian affairs seemed to require. According to a report submitted to Congress in 1802 the personnel consisted of a superintendent south of the Ohio, Benjamin Hawkins, who received \$2000 a year; four agents whose salaries ranged from \$800 to \$1200 a year; one assistant agent; and eight interpreters who were paid \$300 a year. The agents were assigned to the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, and the northwestern Indians. Besides these officers, the Terri-

⁷⁹ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, pp. 646-648.

torial Governors were ex officio Superintendents of Indian Affairs in their respective Territories; and Arthur St. Clair, Governor of the Northwest Territory, William H. Harrison, Governor of Indiana Territory, and W. C. C. Claiborne, Governor of Mississippi Territory received \$2000 each for their services as Governor and superintendent.⁸⁰

Land transfers were usually arranged by special commissioners, although agents were sometimes given permission to make such agreements in very much the same way that regular diplomatic representatives to foreign countries are sometimes instructed to make treaties. In 1808, for example, Pierre Chouteau, agent for the Osages, was specially commissioned by Meriwether Lewis, Governor and superintendent for Missouri Territory, to make a treaty with the Indians. By this treaty the United States agreed to furnish the Osages with merchandise, a blacksmith and tools, utensils of husbandry, a grist-mill and other necessities of civilization, in return for a portion of their lands.⁸¹

The number of men employed at the agencies increased rapidly. In 1816 there were fifteen agents and ten sub-agents employed by the government, the salaries of the former ranging from \$600 to \$1200, and those of the latter from \$300 to \$819. The entire list of agents is as follows:

John Jamison	Natchitoches	\$1200
Nicholas Boilvin	Prairie du Chien	1200
William Coche	Chickasaw Agency	
Erastus Granger	Buffalo	600
Benjamin Stickney	Fort Wayne	750
John Johnston	Piqua	750
Return J. Meigs	Cherokee Agency	1200
John McKee	Choctaw	1200
Charles Jouett	Chicago	1000
John Bowyer	Green Bay	1000

⁸⁰ *American State Papers, Miscellaneous*, Vol. I, pp. 305, 313.

⁸¹ Kappler's *Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, pp. 95-99.

Peter Chouteau	Missouri	1200
Wm. L. Lovely	Missouri	1100
Benjamin O'Fallon	Missouri	1200
Wm. H. Puthuff	Mackinac	1000
Richard Graham	Peoria	1200

Sub-agents were listed as follows:

Maurice Blondeau	Missouri Terr.	\$ 800
Thomas Fonyth [Forsyth]	Missouri Terr.	819
Peter Menana	Missouri Terr.	600
Manuel Lisa	Missouri Terr.	547.50
Gabriel Godfrey	Michigan Terr.	500
Whitmore Knaggs	Michigan Terr.	500
John Johnson	Ft. Madison	300
Jasper Parish	Six Nations	450
Benjamin Parke	Illinois Terr.	480
Philemon Hawkins	Fort Hawkins	500 ⁸²

The only difference between the agents and the sub-agents seems to have been a matter of salary and position. The officer sent to one place might be called an agent; while the person sent to another place might be listed as a sub-agent and paid about half as much as the agent, although he seems to have had about the same duties to perform. Provided originally as assistants to the agents, the sub-agents soon came to have special posts assigned them where they became virtually independent in their administration of affairs. Like the agents they reported to the superintendents or to the Secretary of War.

The importance of the Indian agent during the early part of the nineteenth century was somewhat diminished by the appointment of another group of men whose sole duty was the maintenance of trading-houses. This "Factory System" as it was called, grew out of the desire of the Americans to draw the Indian trade away from the British in the Northwest. These government trading-houses were estab-

⁸² *American State Papers, Miscellaneous*, Vol. II, p. 338.

lished by an act of April 18, 1796, with a capital of \$150,000. Private trade was not prohibited, but it was hoped that private traders could not compete with the government-owned factories and would give up their business or at least furnish goods more cheaply. This system put the regulation of Indian trade in the hands of the factors instead of the agents and thus divided the prestige of the men who represented the government among the Indians. The factories emphasized the commercial relations with the Indians and somewhat diminished their respect for their "Great Father", since he now appeared to them as a trader. Although the factors were sometimes referred to as agents, they constituted a separate class of officials under a Superintendent of Trade and performed duties entirely distinct from those of the regular agents. Indeed, the factory system was generally opposed by the agents who sympathized with the fur companies and private traders rather than with the United States factors. Many of the agents had been traders and they often returned to this work when they ceased to act as agents. Such men as Pierre Menard, Pierre Chouteau, and Nicholas Boilvin were naturally in favor of private enterprise, and Indian agents were often witnesses against the factory system in Congressional investigations.⁸³ One of these men, Major Benjamin O'Fallon, had received his position partly through the influence of John Jacob Astor, while one of the other witnesses was Ramsay Crooks, one of Astor's partners.⁸⁴

The opposition of the fur companies and of the regular agents became too powerful for the indifferent supporters of the government factories and at last, after a precarious existence, the factory system was abolished by the act of

⁸³ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. I, p. 452; Benton's *Abridgement of the Debates of Congress*, Vol. VII, pp. 182-186.

⁸⁴ Coman's *Government Factories in the American Economic Association Papers and Discussions*, 1911, p. 381.

March 3, 1821, which went into effect on June 3, 1822.⁸⁵ Provision was then made for winding up the affairs of the factories and for the sale of the buildings. Henceforth private traders and employees of the fur companies furnished the Indians with goods, except those supplied by the United States government as presents or annuities, while the Indian agents became more important in the management of the Indian tribes. Two years later Richard Graham, an Indian agent, testified that the abolition of the factory system had had no bad effects west of the Mississippi River; and Joshua Pilcher, a partner in the Missouri Fur Company, declared that the tribes among which he traded had never even heard of it. He recommended that trading-posts should be selected by the agent and visited by him with sufficient escort to convince the Indians of his importance.⁸⁶

In the meantime the regular Indian service had been more definitely provided for. Two acts, approved on April 16 and 20, 1818, directed that Indian agents were to be appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate; definitely fixed their salaries; and included a list of the Indian tribes to which agents were to be sent. The agents to the Creeks and Choctaws were given \$1800 a year; the agent to the Cherokees on the Arkansas River and the agent at Green Bay each received \$1500; the agent at Mackinac was given \$1400; the agents stationed among the Cherokees on the Tennessee, among the Chickasaws, and at Chicago received \$1300 each; while the agents at Prairie du Chien, Natchitoches, Vincennes, Fort Wayne, among the Lake Indians, and among the Missouri tribes were each given \$1200 a year. Sub-agents were to be paid \$500. Neither agents nor sub-agents were to receive the rations which had former-

⁸⁵ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. III, p. 641.

⁸⁶ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, pp. 453, 456, 457.

ly been furnished them, and the salaries were to be in full payment for all services.⁸⁷

During the next year an important step was taken in an activity which has since been closely associated with the work of the Indian agent and has sometimes absorbed it. This was the appropriation of \$10,000 for the instruction of the Indians in agriculture, reading, writing, and arithmetic.⁸⁸ Although this provision had previously been made in the case of special treaties, it had not been followed as a general policy. At first the sum appropriated was considered too small to be used independently and was used by the President to aid schools already established by benevolent societies and churches.⁸⁹ An interesting comment on the attitude of the Indians towards this often unwelcome civilizing process is to be found in a report of Jedidiah Morse, submitted to the Secretary of War in 1822 after a trip through the Northwest. He recommended that the agent should live among the tribe to which he was assigned, have a comfortable house and council-room, and employ a blacksmith and carpenter. A small farm should be cultivated upon which domestic animals could be raised, but this farm must be ostensibly for the benefit of the agent, for if the Indians were to suspect that an effort was being made to civilize them, they would resent it and refuse to profit by the work of the agent.⁹⁰ Morse's ideal Indian agent was very similar to a modern social settlement worker, but few men with such principles could be secured and the agents, as a rule, preferred precept to practice.

The duties of the Indian agents were numerous enough, however, without this educational work, although the num-

⁸⁷ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. III, pp. 428, 461.

⁸⁸ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. III, pp. 516, 517.

⁸⁹ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, p. 201.

⁹⁰ Morse's *Report to the Secretary of War, on Indian Affairs*, pp. 58, 59.

ber of men employed increased rapidly. They reported claims made for injuries inflicted by the Indians upon the whites and by the whites upon Indians, made lists of the Indians to whom rations should be issued, arranged for the visits of chiefs to Washington, and were supposed to make quarterly reports of their expenditures.⁹¹ In addition to their other duties agents were frequently called upon to settle disputes between hostile tribes and to protect their wards from the incursions of other Indians, as well as from the encroachments of the pioneers. In 1821 Major Benjamin O'Fallon, agent on the Missouri River, made a speech to the Sacs at St. Louis in which he ordered them to cease making war on the Otoes, Missouris, and Omahas who belonged to his agency.⁹²

The agents in dealing with the Indian tribes were to the government at Washington what fingers are to a blind person. They were both the source of information and the means of execution. They were dual representatives. To the Indians they represented the Great Father at Washington; while they were often the only means by which the Indian side of a question was made known to the men in authority. Stephen H. Long wrote that "much depends upon the course pursued by the agents of the United States. If the character of these is dignified, energetic, and fearless, they will certainly meet that respect from the natives which is due to the importance of their missions. But . . . if their conduct is deficient in promptness, energy, and decision; if their measures are paralyzed by personal fear of the desperadoes, whom they must necessarily encounter . . . their counsels will fall unheeded in the assemblies which they address."⁹³

⁹¹ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, pp. 269, 270.

⁹² Thwaites's *Early Western Travels*, Vol. XIV, p. 314.

⁹³ Thwaites's *Early Western Travels*, Vol. XIV, pp. 313, 314.

During the year 1821-1822 the Indian Department consisted of three Territorial Governors, each of whom was ex officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs and received \$1500 a year for this duty, seventeen Indian agents receiving salaries ranging from \$1200 to \$1800 a year, and twenty-five sub-agents, some of whom were appointed by the agents and some by the War Department. In case these sub-agents acted as interpreters, they received the interpreter's salary in addition to the \$500 fixed by law. Besides these officers, there were thirty-four interpreters, whose total salaries were \$13,192.60. The four interpreters to the Creeks were provided for by treaty and received from \$200 to \$400. These interpreters and the twenty-one blacksmiths were appointed by the superintendents or agents.⁹⁴ During this year, however, the superintendency of William Clark, Governor of the Territory of Missouri, was discontinued; the agency at Vincennes was abandoned, because the Indians had emigrated; and the sub-agencies at Edwardsville, Illinois, and at Fort Osage were abolished by the Secretary of War. As fast as agencies were discontinued in the East, however, new ones were necessary in the West. An act of May 6, 1822, provided for the appointment of a Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis at a salary of \$1500 and gave superintendents and agents power to grant licenses to traders who might be required to give bonds as high as \$5000. These licenses were good for two years if to nearby tribes, and for seven years if to remote tribes. Indian agents, Governors of Territories, and military officers were to inspect goods suspected of including liquor and all purchases of goods to be given as annuities were to be made by agents or Territorial Governors. Provision was also made for an agent to the Florida Indians, at a salary of \$1500.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, pp. 364-366.

⁹⁵ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, pp. 364, 365; *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. III, pp. 682, 683.

One of the agents appointed at this time was Henry R. Schoolcraft, whose residence was at Sault Ste. Marie. In 1824 Secretary Calhoun reported eighteen agents and twenty-two sub-agents, but asked for the appointment of two additional agents, one for the Delawares, Kickapoos, Shawnees, Weas, Piankashaws, and Peorias who lived on the White River and in Missouri, and one for the Osages upon the Arkansas. He reported that in accordance with the law all Indian agents were permanently located among or near the tribes to which they were accredited, except Major Richard Graham, Indian agent for the tribes in Missouri, who was at St. Louis until buildings could be erected. Concerning Graham the Secretary added that "it is understood that he is among the Indians of his agency twice a year, at those periods when they are at their villages, and continues with them until they leave them on their hunting excursions, in which they are represented to be, for the greater part of their time, engaged."⁹⁶

By an act approved on May 25, 1824, Congress provided for two more sub-agents on the Upper Missouri and fixed their salary at \$800. Agents were required to designate places for trading and to compel traders to remain there. The superintendent at St. Louis was given the same powers over the agents within his district that the Governors of the Territories had as Superintendents of Indian Affairs. An act approved on the following day appropriated \$26,500 for the salaries of the superintendent at St. Louis and the agents, \$13,100 for sub-agents, \$10,000 for presents, and \$95,000 for contingent expenses.⁹⁷ In the report of the Treasurer for the first three quarters of the year 1825, however, the amount drawn from the treasury for the pay of Indian agents was \$43,318.19; sub-agents received \$19,461.-

⁹⁶ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, pp. 449, 450.

⁹⁷ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. IV, pp. 35, 36.

65; while the amount for presents was \$18,728.23. The total expenditure in the Indian service for this period was \$781,827.14.⁹⁸

The appropriations were slightly increased by later acts, but there was little change in the department until 1832. A suggestion of dishonesty among Indian agents and officers is found in the proviso added to most of these bills, that money should not be paid to those whose accounts were in arrears; by an appropriation in 1831 of \$61,000 to cover arrearages in accounts made by authorized government agents; and by the provision, in 1832, that agents, acting under orders outside their agencies, should receive only actual expenses in addition to their regular salaries.⁹⁹

The administration of Indian affairs during the early years under the Constitution was rendered difficult by the lack of clearly defined powers. The authority of agents to enforce regulations without specific orders from the President was disputed and there was even a question as to what constituted Indian country. The furnishing of liquor to the Indians had been forbidden for many years, but lack of authority, as well as lack of inclination, usually resulted in nullifying the law. With the growth of the United States, a change had taken place in the attitude of the people toward the Indians. The legal fiction of Indian sovereignty was maintained, but the frontiersmen who were largely in control of the government by 1830, were chiefly interested in moving the Indians westward as rapidly as possible.

In order to more clearly define the authority of agents and to provide more adequately for the administration of Indian affairs which had assumed unusual prominence as a result of the westward movement, Congress passed the act

⁹⁸ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, p. 650.

⁹⁹ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. IV, pp. 150, 433, 519, 520.

of July 9, 1832, by which the office of Commissioner of Indian Affairs was created. This officer, who was to have general supervision over the Indian superintendents and agents, was to be appointed by the President, with the approval of the Senate, and was to receive a salary of \$3000 a year. The importation of liquor into the Indian country was absolutely forbidden, and the Secretary of War was directed to discontinue such agencies as the emigration of the Indians had made unnecessary.¹⁰⁰ The general plan of administration under this system was as follows: several agencies were under the supervision of one superintendent, who, in turn, was responsible to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, who was subordinate to the Secretary of War. Some of the agents, however, were not included in any of the superintendencies and were responsible directly to the Commissioner. Two years later, the law governing the field service among the Indians was rewritten and the Department of Indian Affairs was established. The traders' licenses, granted by agents and superintendents, were to be good for two years for the region east of the Mississippi River and for three years if in the West. The agents could grant licenses only to American citizens, but the President might grant permission for traders to employ foreign boatmen. The place at which the trade was to be carried on must be designated in the license, and a bond of \$5000 must be furnished by the trader. All licenses were to be reported by the agents to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and anyone trading without a license was to forfeit his goods and pay a \$500 fine.

Superintendents, agents, and sub-agents were given authority to remove intruders from the Indian country, and if necessary the military force might be employed to accomplish this result. Any foreigner found in the Indian coun-

¹⁰⁰ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. IV, p. 564.

try without a permit from the superintendent, agent, or officer at the nearest military post, was to be fined \$1000. In case horses or goods were stolen by the Indians, the superintendent or agent was to make application to the Indians for satisfaction, and if this was not received he was to report the case to the Commissioner who was to decide on further measures. The annuities to the tribe might be held for security until the affair was settled, but it was preferred that the actual criminals should be arrested and a military force might be used. The agents and military officers might search boats or other means of transportation for liquor and it was made their duty to break up distilleries within their agencies. Two new agents for the western country were under the supervision of the President, instead of the superintendent at St. Louis. One of these agents might be made superintendent, but without additional salary.

The Territorial Governors of Florida, Arkansas, and Michigan were to cease acting as Superintendents of Indian Affairs and the superintendent at St. Louis was to have charge of all the region west of the Mississippi River and not included in some State or Territory. Agents were to be appointed as before, for a term of four years, give bonds of \$2000, and receive a salary of \$1500. The twelve agents were to be stationed among the western Indians, the eastern Cherokees, the Florida and Indiana Indians, and at Chicago, Rock Island, Prairie du Chien, Michilimackinac and Sault Ste. Marie, Saint Peter's, and on the Upper Missouri. The Florida and Cherokee agencies were to be discontinued after December 31, 1834; while those at Chicago and Rock Island and the one among the Indiana Indians were to be closed after December 31, 1836. All agencies not provided for by this act might be closed at any time by the President. The agents were required to reside within or near the territory of the tribes for which they were appointed, at a place des-

ignated by the President, and were not to leave the agency without permission.

The President might require a military officer to execute the duties of Indian agent. Furthermore, a sufficient number of sub-agents were to be appointed by the President, at a salary of \$750 each. They were required to give a bond of \$1000 and to reside wherever the President might direct, but no sub-agent was to be appointed in an agency wherein an agent was stationed. The boundaries of each agency and sub-agency were to be established by the Secretary of War and might be either tribal or geographical. Within the limits of his district each agent or sub-agent was to have charge of all intercourse with the Indians and to obey the orders of the President, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, or superintendent. An interpreter at a salary of \$300 was provided at each agency or for each tribe. These interpreters were nominated by the agents and confirmed by the Secretary of War, and might be suspended by the agent. Preference in these appointments was to be given to men of Indian descent.

Blacksmiths were assigned to agencies when provided for by treaty, and were paid \$480 a year, with \$120 additional if they furnished their own shops. When required, farmers, mechanics, and teachers were to be appointed by the Secretary of War at salaries ranging from \$480 to \$600. If the tribes were considered competent, the appointment of these employees might be left to them. No pay was to be given in addition to the salaries except allowances for traveling and office expenses, and no person was to hold more than one office, nor receive his salary while absent from his agency without leave from the superintendent or Secretary of War. At no time was an officer to be absent from his post longer than sixty days. A superintendent, or agent, or sub-agent and a military officer were to certify to the delivery of annuities, and no officer of the United States was to engage in

trade under a penalty of \$5000 fine and removal from office. Indians visiting posts and agencies might be given rations at the expense of the government.¹⁰¹

The appropriation for the year 1835 was only a little more than half of that voted in 1833. Some of the appropriations for the two years were as follows:

	1833	1835
Superintendent at St. Louis and agents	\$26,000	\$15,000
Sub-agents	17,000	10,500
Interpreters	20,000	7,500
Presents	15,000	5,000
Provisions at distribution of annuities	11,800	11,800
Contingencies	20,000	4,000 ¹⁰²

The period between 1822 and 1835 was one of marvelous western expansion, and the fur trade, explorations, and settlement took many white people into the Indian country. Scattered on the frontiers were the Indian agents, who were sometimes former fur traders, sometimes men of military training, and sometimes missionaries. Their duties took them into the very depths of the wilderness. When John Sandford was appointed agent to the Mandan villages in 1826, he was stationed 1050 miles from Council Bluffs and 2500 miles from Washington.¹⁰³ The positions nearer the white settlements were often more difficult than those farther west. The frontiersmen were self-reliant, often lawless, and always resentful of any authority which operated in favor of the Indians and against the whites. Confident of the support of the voters of the West and their representatives in Congress, men openly defied the government agents, except when the latter were supported by a military force. When in 1828 Henry Dodge settled at the lead mines

¹⁰¹ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. IV, pp. 729-738.

¹⁰² *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. IV, pp. 631, 746.

¹⁰³ *Niles' Register*, Vol. XXXI, p. 160.

east of the Mississippi River, on lands reserved for the Indians by the treaty of 1816, Joseph M. Street, Indian agent at Prairie du Chien, sent Sub-Agent John Marsh to notify Dodge and his men to remove at once, if they did not wish to be removed by force. General Dodge replied that "he should leave the country as soon as he conveniently could", but he remained in spite of the orders of the agent. This attitude of defiance on the part of frontier whites made the work of the agents very difficult. To be sure, they were supposed to be supported by the army, but the political influence of the settlers was usually powerful enough to prevent the use of force. In this case Henry Dodge and his associates hoped that a new treaty would give them a legal right to remain on the lands they coveted, and as usual they were not disappointed, for on August 1, 1829, the Winnebagoes ceded the mining district to the United States.¹⁰⁴

So great was the demand for new Indian cessions that Indian agents among the border tribes were usually busy keeping the white men off the Indian lands, persuading the Indians to move westward, or setting up an agency in the new location. When white settlers began to covet the lands of a tribe, it became the duty of the agents to convince the Indians that emigration was beneficial and inevitable. In 1828 Colonel Hugh Montgomery, agent to the Creeks, was ordered to leave his office in charge of a sub-agent and go among the Indians personally to persuade them to leave Georgia;¹⁰⁵ and Colonel Ward, the Choctaw agent, presented the question of removal to the council of that tribe in 1829. It is not likely that the Indians had much faith in his arguments since they had asked for his removal the year before on account of alleged embezzlement of annuity funds,

¹⁰⁴ Pelzer's *Henry Dodge*, pp. 32-34.

¹⁰⁵ Parker's *The Cherokee Indians*, pp. 18, 19.

but they were beginning to realize that it was impossible for them to remain.¹⁰⁶

Another duty of the Indian agent which was equally difficult to perform was the exclusion of liquor from the Indian country. The traders considered liquor as an indispensable adjunct to the Indian trade and violated the law whenever possible. When the agents and military officers by strict inspection prevented the transportation of large quantities of liquor, the traders set up distilleries within the Indian country. The American Fur Company began to operate a distillery at Fort Union, but when the Indian agent at Fort Leavenworth reported this activity to General William Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis, the company was soon compelled to put a stop to the manufacturing of whiskey.¹⁰⁷

A description of one of these frontier agencies is given by Maximilian, Prince of Wied, in writing of his journey up the Missouri River in 1832. "Sioux Agency, or, as it is now usually called, Fort Lookout", he said, "is a square, of about sixty paces, surrounded by pickets, twenty or thirty feet high, made of squared trunks of trees, placed close to each other, within which the dwellings are built close to the palisades." This fort was on the west bank of the Missouri River, some distance above the mouth of the Platte, and near it were the trading-houses of the Sublette Fur Company and the American Fur Company, the rival companies in the fur trade.¹⁰⁸ This same traveler wrote as follows concerning Bellevue, located southeast of the Platte River and a few miles south of the present site of Omaha: "Below, on the bank, there are some huts, and on top the buildings of

¹⁰⁶ Abel's *Indian Consolidation* in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1906, Vol. I, pp. 371, 372.

¹⁰⁷ Chittenden's *History of the American Fur Trade of the Far West*, Vol. I, pp. 358, 360-362.

¹⁰⁸ Thwaites's *Early Western Travels*, Vol. XXII, pp. 303, 304.

the agents, where a sub-agent, Major Beauchamp, a blacksmith, and some servants of the company, all lived with their families''.¹⁰⁹ This was the agency of Major John Dougherty, the agent to the Otoes, Omahas, Pawnees, and Ioways, who had formerly been the interpreter of Benjamin O'Fallon. At the time of Maximilian's visit Dougherty was called away to settle a feud between the Ioways and the Omahas who were at war.¹¹⁰

Many of these agents were real friends of the Indians, although not inclined to idealize them. Thomas Forsyth, the Sac and Fox agent from 1804 to 1830, was very popular with his wards and was considered by General William Clark as one of the ablest Indian agents in the service and the equal of Nicholas Perrot in the understanding of Indian character. So influential was he among the Indians, that Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites suggests that his removal was one of the causes of the Black Hawk War.¹¹¹

The years immediately following this war witnessed few changes in the administration of Indian affairs. An act approved on March 3, 1837, provided for four additional sub-agents and three more agents for the Creeks, the Cherokees, and the Indians on the Upper Missouri. The act also included an appropriation of \$1692 to pay one Charles Rodgers for a distillery which had been erected in the Indian country prior to 1832, and which the Indian agent had destroyed.¹¹² This is an instance of unusual leniency, since the public records contain nothing which could be construed to favor the use of intoxicating liquor among the natives.

¹⁰⁹ Thwaites's *Early Western Travels*, Vol. XXII, p. 266.

¹¹⁰ Thwaites's *Early Western Travels*, Vol. XIV, p. 126; Vol. XXII, pp. 258, 266, 267.

¹¹¹ Armstrong's *The Sauks and the Black Hawk War*, p. 62; Blair's *Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi and Region of the Great Lakes*, Vol. I, p. 14; Thwaites's *Early Western Travels*, Vol. XXII, note on p. 225.

¹¹² *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. V, pp. 161-163.

Official reports are full of denunciations of the traffic and of the white men who hung about the borders of the reservation and furnished "fire water" to the Indians at a great profit to themselves.

The year following this act saw the establishment of the first government agency within the present boundaries of the State of Iowa. The Sac and Fox Indians moved westward in accordance with the treaty of October 21, 1837, and in 1838 their agent, Joseph M. Street, who had been transferred from the Winnebago Agency at Prairie du Chien, established the Sac and Fox agency near what is now Agency City. The necessary buildings were erected and in 1839 Agent Street moved his family to the new center, but died the following year. So beloved was the former agent that when Chief Wapello died in 1842, he requested that he be buried near his white friend. Joseph M. Street was succeeded by his son-in-law, John Beach, a graduate of West Point¹¹³ and in ability and character a worthy successor of the man who had filled a difficult position with justice to his wards and honor to the United States.

The total number of Indians in charge of Agent Beach was about 2300, and these were divided into some six villages. The home of the agent was a two-story, frame house; and in its vicinity were the office, the blacksmith-shop, and the stables, built at the expense of the government by a contractor from Clarksville, Missouri.¹¹⁴ Such was the establishment which was expected to teach the Indians industry and obedience to law and at the same time protect them from the white men who were constantly breaking the law. Soon after the establishment of the agency, two mills were built. Both were soon destroyed by floods, but one was rebuilt by

¹¹³ Kappler's *Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, pp. 495, 496; *History of Polk County* (Union Historical Co., 1880), pp. 39, 40.

¹¹⁴ Evans's *History of Wapello County, Iowa*, p. 17.

Agent John Beach and a saw-mill was also constructed. These two mills were burned in the summer of 1842 and Agent Beach reported that he was sure the incendiaries were men who were angry because they had been driven off the reservation.¹¹⁵ With men of this sort watching every chance to enter the reservation or to debauch and annoy the Indians, the agent in charge had no easy post, nor could he hope to arouse much enthusiasm among his charges for improving lands which white men were already staking out as claims.

The two blacksmiths and the gunsmith were kept more regularly employed than the millers. Hoes, axes, knives, and all kinds of agricultural and hunting implements were constantly needed by the Indians. Guns were even more important and horses and oxen needed to be shod. The most important line of work at the agency, however, from the standpoint of its civilizing influence, was the farm, which was begun in April, 1839. The sum of \$2000 a year for five years for its support was granted by the treaty of 1837. This "Pattern Farm", it was hoped, would be an incentive for the Indians to take up agriculture; but, while they appreciated its products they refused to work. John Beach reported in 1841 that the farm contained one hundred and seventy-seven acres, including two acres planted in water melons—the only things which the Indians preferred to whiskey.¹¹⁶

These Indians, who came in close contact with the whites, were in a pitiable condition. They had lost their former game supply, but were not yet convinced of the necessity of agriculture. Herded into reservations by United States troops, who were also expected to defend them from their

¹¹⁵ *House Executive Documents*, 2nd Sess., 27th Congress, Vol. I, Doc. 2, pp. 327-330; Evans's *History of Wapello County, Iowa*, p. 19.

¹¹⁶ *Senate Documents*, 3rd Sess., 27th Congress, Vol. I, p. 425; *House Executive Documents*, 2nd Sess., 27th Congress, Vol. I, Doc. 2, pp. 327-330.

enemies, the Sacs and Foxes, like other Indian tribes in the same condition, became beggars and drunkards. In spite of the efforts of the agents and officers, the example of the lawless and degraded whites on the outskirts of the reservation made any real progress on the part of the Indians impossible.

Aside from the government officers the only white men who were permitted by law to reside within the Indian country were the licensed traders, who were sometimes men of dishonest character, but usually superior to the traders who carried on illegal traffic with the Indians. There were three trading posts at the Sac and Fox Agency and the traders usually managed to secure most of the annuities as soon as they were paid — in fact the Indians sometimes did not even handle them.¹¹⁷

In addition to the traders and agency employees noted above, the Sac and Fox agency was supplied with two interpreters, Joseph Smart and John Goodell; but unlike most of the agencies at this time, it had no school. The duties of the Indian agent are, however, well illustrated and were performed by men of unusual ability and honesty. The agent was custodian of the funds provided for minors within the tribe. He was a witness at the signing of the treaties. He had charge of the various activities of the agency and reported to the superintendent of his district. He attempted to keep white intruders away from his wards. He settled disputes among the Indians themselves — such as the one between Keokuk and Hardfish as to the method of distributing annuities.¹¹⁸ He was like a pilot on a ship without any motive power, however, and the irresistible current of a rapidly expanding population carried his ship westward in spite of his efforts.

¹¹⁷ Parish's *John Chambers*, pp. 167, 168, 183.

¹¹⁸ *History of Western Iowa* (Western Publishing Company, 1882), p. 33; Kappler's *Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, pp. 475, 549; Parish's *John Chambers*, p. 173.

A few additional features of agency life are furnished by the Winnebago sub-agency on Turkey River, near Fort Atkinson, in the Territory of Iowa. According to a report made in 1846 by J. E. Fletcher, the sub-agent, a carpenter was provided, who was chiefly occupied in making coffins for the Indians. A physician was constantly employed, and a school under Rev. David Lowry with three women and two men teachers attempted to educate the reluctant Indians. Moreover, judging from a report of the Secretary of War for that year, this sub-agency employed, in addition to the officers already named, six smiths, a steward, a cook, an overseer, fifteen laborers, and one interpreter. This last employee and one of the laborers were half-breeds, the rest were whites.¹¹⁹ David Lowry, the superintendent of the school at this time, had been the sub-agent when the agency was first located here, about 1839. His ideas of Indian education are set forth in October of that year in his report to Governor Dodge of Wisconsin Territory, in which he said: "The Indian can only be redeemed from his present degraded state by the protecting policy of the government removing him where intercourse with the white man can be prohibited, and establishing schools and farms among them, under the supervision of competent agents." It was comparatively easy to remove the Indians, but it proved impossible to keep the white men away from them.¹²⁰

The relation of the agents to the superintendents, who were sometimes merely agents performing the duties of superintendents as well as those of agents, may be illustrated by the duties of Governor Henry Dodge of the Territory of Wisconsin as Superintendent of Indian Affairs. It was his duty to receive and distribute the funds intended for the

¹¹⁹ *Senate Documents*, 2nd Sess., 29th Congress, Vol. I, Doc. 1, pp. 247-250; *House Executive Documents*, 2nd Sess., 29th Congress, Vol. III, No. 36, pp. 3, 4.

¹²⁰ *Senate Documents*, 1st Sess., 31st Congress, Vol. II, p. 1045; Pelzer's *Henry Dodge*, p. 153.

various agencies. Each agent was expected to make a quarterly report to him of receipts, expenditures, goods, stock, provisions, and husbandry at the agency before he received his salary. It was the superintendent who secured the execution of the agents' bonds, gave advice as to buildings at the agencies, and the selection of new sites, and settled disputes in the department under his charge.¹²¹ It is an interesting commentary upon frontier life that this Governor, who was now representing the authority of the United States over the Indians, was the man who ten years before had defied the agent to put him off the Indian lands.

The advance line of government control over the Indians was extended in 1842 by the appointment of Andrew Drips, a fur trader, as agent to the Sioux on the Upper Missouri. The chief reason for his appointment was the need of someone to enforce the law which prohibited the sale or giving of liquor to the Indians. Drips had been associated with the American Fur Company and since it was difficult for a large company to smuggle liquor in sufficient amounts for their use, it was to the interest of the company to prevent individual traders from carrying liquor on their trips. The selection of "Major" Drips as the agent to enforce this law was a political and commercial victory for the American Fur Company and shows how influential the men in charge of it were. In spite of the partisan reason for his selection, Andrew Drips seems to have made a good agent and even in the winter traveled over the vast extent of territory under his charge.¹²²

Many were the subterfuges resorted to by the traders to evade the search by the agents. On one occasion a military officer to whom the duty of searching the vessels had been

¹²¹ Pelzer's *Henry Dodge*, pp. 151, 152.

¹²² Thwaites's *Early Western Travels*, Vol. XXVII, p. 136; Chittenden's *History of the American Fur Trade of the Far West*, Vol. I, pp. 367, 368.

delegated by the agent, who was absent, was deceived by the master of the steamboat who loaded the kegs of liquor upon a circular tramway in the dark hold of the boat and had the crew pull them along just far enough ahead of the inspecting officer to prevent his observing them. At another time these same employees of the Company succeeded in outwitting the agent himself at Bellevue, the scene of the former incident. The agent was an ex-Methodist minister and was determined to permit no liquor to pass him, so the men in charge of the expedition unloaded the liquor, which had been packed in barrels of flour and marked with the initials of the Company's agent at that place. Never dreaming that the liquor would be deposited in his presence, the agent failed to examine these barrels, and of course found nothing on the boat. The captain then made some excuse for not proceeding at once, and during the following night the barrels were reloaded and the boat started hastily up the river. When the agent saw that the barrels were gone he realized that the boat had been carrying liquor, but nothing was done about it by the authorities.¹²³ An act of March 3, 1847, imposed a penalty of two years imprisonment for the sale of liquor to the Indians, but this law did not make the detection of the offenders any easier. The same act provided that agents and sub-agents should be furnished with houses, and permitted to cultivate the land if the Indians were willing, but this provision was repealed in 1848. About this time it was provided that the annuities were to be paid to the heads of families instead of to the chiefs, since by this policy the government hoped to minimize the tribal feeling and the power of the chiefs.¹²⁴

The addition of territory at the time of the Mexican War led to the provision for a special agent and two interpreters

¹²³ Chittenden's *History of the American Fur Trade of the Far West*, Vol. II, pp. 679-683.

¹²⁴ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. IX, pp. 203, 264.

for the Comanche and Texas Indians. In 1848 the Territorial Governor of Oregon was given a salary of \$1500 a year as Governor and an equal amount as Superintendent of Indian Affairs. Two years later the two positions were separated, and the superintendent was paid \$2500 a year for his services. Three agents were assigned to California and their salaries were fixed at \$3000 a year, double the amount usually paid to such officers.¹²⁵

In the meantime an important change had been made by the act of March 3, 1849, which transferred the Indian office to the newly established Department of the Interior.¹²⁶ All powers formerly vested in the Secretary of War were henceforth to be exercised by the Secretary of the Interior, for it was believed that civil administration would be more effective in civilizing and educating the Indians than military supervision had been. The history of the succeeding thirty or forty years, however, failed to confirm this opinion. As has been said, the agents working under the Secretary of War were not always military officers, and when men who had had military training, like Joseph M. Street and John Beach, were selected they acted as civil officers and did not attempt to serve as Indian agents and army officers at the same time. The spirit of the Indian service under the War Department was commercial rather than military and few of the agents at this time escaped charges of being interested in the Indian trade. Although this was contrary to law, there does not appear to have been as much actual dishonesty among the agents as there was later, due partly no doubt to the less extravagant appropriations. Incompetent men were sometimes found among them, but as a class, the Indian agents of this period had the good qualities of the pioneers as well as some of their objectionable character-

¹²⁵ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. IX, pp. 204, 328, 437, 519.

¹²⁶ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. IX, p. 395.

istics. They may be divided into two classes: one made up of men like Henry R. Schoolcraft and Joseph M. Street, who represented the refinement of civilization as well as its strength; the second consisted of men like Andrew Drips, who possessed force of character and shrewd business ability, without much regard for the finer things of life.

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THE REMOVAL OF THE CAPITAL FROM IOWA CITY TO DES MOINES

The first settlements in Iowa clustered along the Mississippi River. Dubuque, Davenport, Bloomington (now Muscatine), Burlington, and Fort Madison sprang up from mining camp, private land reserve, boat landing, trading-post, or military garrison into bustling frontier towns. But it was not long before the fertile prairie to the west began to lure the pioneers away from the hills along the river. In August, 1836, the population of the two counties in the Iowa country was 10,531. Twenty-one months later the census showed an increase of one hundred and seventeen percent. Of the 22,859 persons then in Iowa, 7755, or over 33.9 percent, were living in counties not washed by the Mississippi; and after two more years, out of a total population of 43,112, over 44.1 percent, or 19,041 people, were inhabitants of inland counties.¹

This rapid shifting of the center of population westward brought with it the need of roads, mail routes, and other conveniences. By no means the least persistent of the demands of the people was for the location of the capital of the Territory near the center of population. Travel in those days was not the negligible consideration it now is. Indeed, the problem of accessibility led to the opinion that the seat of government should occupy a central position geographically as well as with respect to the mass of population.

The First Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Iowa, having in mind the future development of the Territory,

¹ Newhall's *Sketches of Iowa*, pp. 114, 115, 120, 122, 123, 129, 130, 132, 247, 248; *Iowa Historical and Comparative Census*, 1880, p. 196.

made provision for the establishment of the permanent seat of government at some point within Johnson County; and Governor Robert Lucas approved the act on January 21, 1839.² For three years, or until the public buildings at Iowa City — for such was to be the name of the capital of Iowa — were declared ready for occupancy, the Legislative Assembly was to continue to hold its meetings at Burlington.³ A supplementary act authorized the Governor to “apply to Congress for a donation of, or a pre-emption to, four sections of land on which to locate the seat of government”; while a joint resolution instructed William W. Chapman, Territorial Delegate to Congress, to ask for a donation of “at least four sections of land, on which to locate the seat of government of the Territory of Iowa”.⁴

² Johnson County had been created only thirteen months before, on December 21, 1837.— Garver's *History of the Establishment of Counties in Iowa* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. VI, p. 387.

³ A matter bearing upon the location of the capital, but having only incidental significance, was the location of the executive offices. The Organic Act establishing the Territorial government of Iowa contained no provision requiring the Governor or Secretary to keep offices at the seat of government. Thus when the capital was removed to Iowa City it did not include the removal of the executive offices. Governor John Chambers took an aversion to Iowa City, declaring that he would reside in Burlington. It appears that he had an office at Iowa City only during sessions of the Legislative Assembly. In 1844 a memorial was addressed to Congress asking that the Governor and Secretary be required to keep their offices at Iowa City. It was introduced in the Council, passed both houses, and was presented to the Governor for his approval.

This question was raised again in 1848 when a resolution was offered in the Senate to inquire into the expediency of reporting a bill which would require the Governor of the State to reside and keep his office at the seat of government, but nothing came of it.

Not until 1864, indeed, was an act of such a character passed. Then a law requiring the Governor to “keep the Executive Office at Des Moines, in which shall be transacted the business of the Executive Department of the State government” was placed upon the statute books.— Parish's *John Chambers*, p. 125; Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. I, pp. 251–311; *Council Journal*, 1843–1844, pp. 125, 129, 133, 163, 168, 174, 192; *House Journal*, 1843–1844, pp. 174, 176, 183, 184, 210, 230; *Senate Journal*, 1848, p. 68; *Laws of Iowa*, 1864, pp. 95, 96.

⁴ *Laws of the Territory of Iowa*, 1838–1839, pp. 435–438, 519; Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. I, pp. 107–112.

Congress, on March 3, 1839, acting upon these recommendations, directed that one section of land should be selected and that if, at the time of its selection, the "contiguous sections thereto have not been made subject to public sale, or being so subject have not been sold at public sale or by private entry, then each and every section contiguous to said selected section, and not so sold, shall be thereafter reserved and withheld from sale in any manner, until the further order of Congress thereon."⁵

Chauncey Swan, John Ronalds, and Robert Ralston, who had been appointed commissioners for that purpose, chose the permanent site for the capital on May 4, 1839,⁶ indicating the place by a slab driven into the ground about where the Old Stone Capitol at Iowa City now stands. In October of the same year official notice of the selection was returned to the Register of the Land Office at Dubuque.⁷

After two years it was seen that the capitol building at Iowa City would not be ready for occupancy at the end of the three years allotted for the work of construction. In view of this fact an act was passed in January, 1841, declaring that the following Legislative Assembly would meet on the first Monday in December, 1841, at Iowa City, if "other sufficient buildings shall be furnished for the accommodation of the Legislative Assembly, rent free". Such accommodations were provided and in conformity with a proclamation of Governor Robert Lucas, the fourth regular session of the Legislative Assembly convened on December

⁵ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. V, p. 330.

The clause requiring the sections contiguous to the one selected for the capital to be withheld from sale was repealed on August 1, 1842.—*United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. VI, p. 846.

⁶ Robert Ralston was not present at the time the location was made, but he arrived on May 6th and agreed to the proceedings of the other two commissioners.—*House Journal*, 1839–1840, p. 90.

⁷ Shambaugh's *Iowa City: A Contribution to the Early History of Iowa*, pp. 22, 23, 24; *House Journal*, 1839–1840, p. 92.

6, 1841, in the new capital city. On that day Iowa City became the capital of Iowa in fact as well as in name.⁸

For sixteen years the seat of government remained at Iowa City. That thriving town beheld fourteen sessions of the legislature and three constitutional conventions convene, accomplish their work, and adjourn. It witnessed also, during those sixteen years, a constant stream of settlers who came to push the frontier farther and farther toward the west. At each of the constitutional conventions and at all but two sessions of the Legislative Assembly or General Assembly the question of re-locating the capital arose in one connection or another.

When the citizens of Iowa City learned that the Legislative Assembly would meet there on December 6, 1841, if suitable quarters should be afforded, they were filled with enthusiasm. Walter Butler, one of the most public-spirited of the inhabitants of the little town, erected a two-story frame structure. This building, however, proved to be more or less unsatisfactory and, as it appeared that the permanent capitol would not be completed in time for the following session of the Legislative Assembly, toward the end of the first session held in "Butler's Capitol" three resolutions for removal were introduced in the House of Representatives. The first provided for the removal of the seat of government to Mount Pleasant until the capitol at Iowa City should be finished. After being amended to the effect that the citizens of Mount Pleasant should "furnish buildings, rent free", the resolution was tabled until the following Saturday: the Assembly adjourned on Friday. An attempt was made to fix the next meeting of the Legislative Assembly at Davenport, but again the resolution was laid on the table. A few minutes later another resolution was

⁸ *Laws of the Territory of Iowa, 1840-1841*, pp. 41, 42; Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. I, pp. 245, 246; *House Journal, 1841-1842*, p. 3.

introduced, fixing Iowa City as the meeting-place of the succeeding Legislative Assembly. A motion was made to substitute Burlington for Iowa City, which was lost by a small majority. Fort Madison was then proposed. This motion was decided in the affirmative, requiring the "Legislative Assembly to meet at said place, at their next session, and until the public buildings are finished at Iowa City", but the resolution was finally postponed indefinitely. Thus nothing came of the first efforts to remove the capital from Iowa City.⁹

Mr. Butler had agreed to erect the temporary capitol building in Iowa City on the condition that the citizens of the town would guarantee to pay him the difference between the cost of the building and the price it would command when no longer required by the government. For some reason these pledges were not fulfilled when the time came. Mr. Butler then asked aid from the legislature of the Territory. He presented a bill for rent to the second Legislative Assembly that convened at Iowa City during the winter of 1842-1843. The former Assembly, however, had met at Iowa City under the express provision that it should be housed rent free, as a guarantee of which agreement Mr. Butler and nineteen other citizens of Iowa City had signed a bond, binding themselves in the penal sum of \$15,000. When the account for rent came before the Council, therefore, no favorable action was taken upon it. A bill for the relief of Mr. Butler was introduced in the House, but that body was also loath to allow rent for the use of the building.

An amendment was offered, however, that "unless the citizens of Iowa City pay to Walter Butler the sum of five hundred dollars, before the first day of September next, for the rent of his house occupied by the Legislature for the

⁹ Shambaugh's *Iowa City: A Contribution to the Early History of Iowa*, pp. 57, 58; *House Journal*, 1841-1842, pp. 264, 265, 267-269.

year 1841-'42, it shall be the duty of his Excellency, the Governor, to convene the next General Assembly at Mount Pleasant in Henry county, Iowa Territory, and there to remain until the above sum of five hundred dollars is paid." This amendment may have been an attempt, out of sympathy for Mr. Butler, to force the citizens of Iowa City who had signed the bond with him to share his loss; but a more plausible explanation appears in the fact that Mr. Paton Wilson who offered the amendment was one of the representatives of Henry County and had seized this opportunity in the hope of winning the capital for Mount Pleasant.¹⁰ Mr. David J. Sales of Des Moines County succeeded in having Burlington (Des Moines County) inserted in place of Mount Pleasant, but when the amendment came to a vote it was overwhelmingly lost.¹¹

The only action of the Legislative Assembly of 1843-1844 which could be construed to indicate a desire for the removal of the capital from Iowa City was in connection with the choice of the place at which the constitutional convention of 1844 should be held. A bill to provide for the expression of the opinion of the people of the Territory upon the subject of the formation of a State government, which contained a section designating the meeting-place of the convention to frame the constitution, being before the Coun-

¹⁰ Indeed, earlier in the session Mr. Paton Wilson had introduced a joint resolution for the removal of the capital to Mount Pleasant, which, after being considered once in the committee of the whole and progress being reported, was not heard of again, probably because in the meantime a better opportunity seemed to be afforded by the rent controversy.—*House Journal*, 1842-1843, pp. 110, 114, 175.

¹¹ *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. VI, p. 192; *Council Journal*, 1842-1843, pp. 25, 26, 27, 31, 85, 87, 122, 125, 128, 129, 141, 142, 157; *House Journal*, 1842-1843, pp. 81, 87, 90, 104, 108, 127, 138, 139, 142-145, 149, 161, 277, 292, 299.

While three hundred and twenty-five dollars was voted for other services of Mr. Butler to the government, he received no rent for housing the Legislative Assembly.—*Laws of Iowa*, 1842-1843 (Local), p. 49.

cil, no less than eight different towns were suggested. After Mount Pleasant, Iowa City, Jacksonville (Clayton County), Davenport, Pittsburg (Van Buren County), Burlington, and Dubuque had been proposed and rejected, Fort Madison was finally agreed upon. When the bill came into the House of Representatives, Mount Pleasant, Burlington, and Davenport were again proposed to no avail. Fort Madison was struck out and Iowa City inserted as the place for holding the convention; and in this form the bill finally passed.¹²

The delegates to the first constitutional convention in Iowa were called to order on October 7, 1844. When the report of the committee on schedule — that is, the article of the constitution providing for the transition from Territorial to State government — came before the assembly on the twenty-sixth day of the same month, Mr. George Hobson of Henry County proposed as an amendment to the section fixing the time for the first meeting of the General Assembly that Iowa City “shall be the seat of Government of the State of Iowa until the year eighteen hundred and sixty-five, and until removed by law.” The proposition was agreed to by a vote of forty-one to twenty-seven.¹³

The *Burlington Hawk-Eye* pronounced this amendment to be no essential part of a Constitution, claiming that it had been inserted by an accidental whim without regard to principle or right. Iowa City, it was asserted, would by virtue of such a provision have a monopoly on the seat of government, and a monopoly of any kind was a thing to be discouraged. Some people thought that the location of the capital at Iowa City by the Constitution had been accomplished by clever politicians for the promotion of private and local interests.

¹² *Council Journal*, 1843–1844, pp. 68, 69, 93, 94, 95, 99, 137, 140, 143, 144, 152, 159, 171, 175; *House Journal*, 1843–1844, pp. 162, 163; *Laws of Iowa*, 1843–1844, pp. 13–16.

¹³ *Journal of the Constitutional Convention of 1844*, pp. 3, 138, 139, 205.

All this was stoutly denied in Iowa City, where it was maintained that the criticism of the clause locating the capital at Iowa City for twenty-one years was only a clever ruse to provoke opposition to the Constitution, in the northern part of the Territory by the argument of sectional interest and in the southern portion by arousing the jealousies of other towns which aspired to the honor of being selected as the seat of government. Whatever may have been the merits of these accusations, the clause on the location of the capital became one of the main points of controversy in the campaign for the adoption of the Constitution of 1844. Indeed, it has been offered as one of the two or three chief causes for the rejection of that instrument by the people.¹⁴

During the eighth and last session of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Iowa (1845-1846) resolutions to adjourn the Assembly to Mount Pleasant were introduced both in the Council and in the House of Representatives on December 31st. In the Council, Bloomington, Burlington, and Dubuque were also proposed in this connection, but in both houses the resolutions were tabled without any favorable action.¹⁵

The Constitution of 1846, under which Iowa became a State, contained a provision that Iowa City "shall be the Seat of Government of the State of Iowa, until removed by law." The failure to incorporate a clause locating the capital at that place for any definite period, as the Constitution of 1844 had done, was probably a concession to the southern and western portions of the Territory, where a strong sentiment was developing in favor of removing the capital farther west at no remote time. In fact, it was immediately pointed out by those opposed to the Constitution that this was a subtle method of accomplishing the immediate re-

¹⁴ *Iowa Capital Reporter* (Iowa City), July 30, August 27, 1845.

¹⁵ *Council Journal*, 1845-1846, pp. 94, 95; *House Journal*, 1845-1846, pp. 87, 88.

location of the capital; for in the General Assembly, under the new Constitution, there would be a majority of eighteen members from the south and southwest who would be inclined to vote for the establishment of the capital at the Raccoon Forks of the Des Moines River, the location of Fort Des Moines.¹⁶

The Constitution of 1844 had been wrecked largely upon the question of boundaries. Congress had refused to accept the "Lucas Boundaries", as those prescribed in the Constitution were called, and had substituted what were known as the "Nicollet Boundaries", thereby reducing the area of the proposed State.¹⁷ The Constitution so modified was twice rejected by the people of Iowa. When it became necessary to decide the boundary question in the constitutional convention of 1846 a compromise providing for the present boundaries was adopted, whereby the size of the State was reduced to 55,964 square miles or about six thousand square miles less than the "Lucas Boundaries" had included, the loss of territory being entirely on the north. Immediately those jealous of keeping the capital at Iowa City saw in this compromise the work of the delegates from the southern counties who, it was believed, had sacrificed the question of territory to obtain possession of the capital, for the new boundaries were "so formed as to throw the Raccoon Forks into the center of population for the next fifty years".¹⁸

As proof of this claim the history of the boundary ques-

¹⁶ *Journal of the Constitutional Convention of 1846*, pp. xx, 92, 98; Shambaugh's *Debates of the Iowa Constitutional Conventions of 1844 and 1846*, p. 363.

¹⁷ For the "Lucas Boundaries" and the "Nicollet Boundaries" see Maps III and IV in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. II, pp. 379, 380.

¹⁸ Shambaugh's *History of the Constitutions of Iowa*, pp. 255, 271, 283; *Appendix to the Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 29th Congress, pp. 668, 669; Shambaugh's *Debates of the Iowa Constitutional Conventions of 1844 and 1846*, pp. 362, 363; *Iowa Official Register*, 1915-1916, pp. 884, 885.

tion in the constitutional convention was cited. At first the "Lucas Boundaries" had been determined upon by a vote of twenty-two to eight. But no sooner had that fact become known than "a certain General Government officer came post-haste to the city to represent the South on this question, and regulate the representatives of the people." It is true that six days after the adoption of the "Lucas Boundaries" William Steele of Van Buren County proposed the compromise boundaries, which passed by a vote of eighteen to twelve. Only two of the ten delegates who might have been supposed to represent the northern interests of the Territory, and therefore to be opposed to capital removal, voted for the amendment; while only four of the twenty from the south voted against it. The conclusion was that the southern delegates, by curtailing the territory on the north, hoped to throw the center of population, as well as the geographical center of the State, toward the southwest, thereby insuring the early removal of the capital to some point advantageous to the southern counties.

Further evidence shows, however, that the report of the Congressional Committee on Territories, proposing the compromise boundaries, reached the constitutional convention after the first decision on the boundary question and before the amendment was made. This fact would seem sufficient to account for the reconsideration of the boundary question in the convention. But the enemies of capital removal explained that the report of the Committee on Territories had resulted from the suggestion of Augustus Caesar Dodge, the Iowa Delegate to Congress, who wanted to effect the re-location of the capital by including it as a part of his program in connection with the solution of the boundary question. The fact of the sacrifice of territory to obtain the capital remained the same, it was contended, whether ac-

complished by the southern interests directly in the convention or through a representative at Washington.¹⁹

Mr. Dodge, in truth, had always been an ardent advocate of the development of the West by internal improvements and had put forth every possible effort for the advancement of the Des Moines Valley. In a speech delivered on the floor of the House of Representatives on June 8, 1846, about three weeks after the adoption of the compromise boundaries in the convention, while urging the justice of making the Missouri River the boundary on the west, he pointed out that an artificial line farther east²⁰ would "cut in twain our greatest interior river, the Des Moines — a stream which, rising in the northwest portion of our contemplated State, courses to the southeast, running for many miles almost equidistant between the Missouri and Mississippi, into which it discharges itself. The Des Moines is now navigable for a considerable portion of the year, and is susceptible, with the greatest facility and slightest expenditure, of being made so for many hundred miles, at all seasons of the year, when not obstructed by ice. The country through which it runs is one of unsurpassed fertility, and is now becoming densely inhabited. From the central position of this river, and its other advantages, there are a very large portion of the people of Iowa who believe and desire that their ultimate seat of government should be upon it."²¹

¹⁹ Shambaugh's *Debates of the Iowa Constitutional Conventions of 1844 and 1846*, pp. 361, 362, 363; *Journal of the Constitutional Convention of 1846*, pp. 39, 40, 48, 87, 88, 102; *Appendix to the Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 29th Congress, p. 668.

²⁰ The "Niccollet Boundaries", those proposed by Congress in the act of March 3, 1845, admitting Iowa to the Union, provided that the State should be bounded on the west "by a meridian line, seventeen degrees and thirty minutes west of the meridian of Washington city." This line passes two or three miles west of the eastern boundary of Taylor County.—*United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. V, p. 742.

²¹ Pelzer's *Augustus Caesar Dodge*, pp. 103-106; *Appendix to the Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 29th Congress, p. 669.

This remark of Mr. Dodge in Congress relative to the ultimate location of the capital on the Des Moines River brought down upon him a torrent of criticism from the eastern part of the Territory. The intimate association of the question of capital removal and the adoption of the State Constitution was so obvious that the *Iowa City Standard* sarcastically informed its readers that "the good people have now nothing more to do than to ratify the Constitution, and instruct the Legislature to remove the Seat of Government from *Iowa City* to the Desmoines river, agreeably to the suggestions of Gen. Dodge." Arguing, in the interest of the eastern part of the Territory, that the movement was as yet premature, the same paper continued: "the citizens residing in that portion of the Territory which is watered by the Iowa and Cedar rivers, will not thank their Delegate for wandering from the path of legitimate discussion, to indicate a relocation of the Seat of Government. When Iowa shall become a State, and her whole territory pretty well settled, it will be time enough to talk about this matter. The first Convention, with great unanimity [forty-one to twenty-seven], located the seat of government in this city for twenty years; and the last one declared it should be the capital until removed by law. And here it should remain for at least a quarter of a century." The matter of expense was then brought forward as a reason for keeping the capital at Iowa City. "Some eighty thousand dollars have been expended on the State House, and we presume the people will not, to gratify the wishes of a few land and town-lot speculators, or the whims of a few sticklers for locating the capital in the geographical center, be disposed to tax themselves some hundred thousand dollars to erect another, upon the banks of the great Desmoines, 'now navigable for a considerable portion of the year.'"²²

²² Shambaugh's *Debates of the Iowa Constitutional Conventions of 1844 and 1846*, pp. 346, 347, reprinted from *The Iowa Standard* (Iowa City), July 15, 1846.

The *Bloomington Herald*, sharing the fears of the Iowa City paper, proclaimed the question to be "whether we shall adopt the present constitution, and by adopting it, say, by our votes, that the Seat of Government shall be removed to the Des Moines river. This is no imaginary thing. The fact has been shadowed forth . . . in a speech delivered in the House of Representatives of the United States, June 8th. If there be any who are not interested in retaining the Seat of Government at Iowa City, we suppose they will vote for the constitution."²³

The arguments of those who favored removal in the near future were outlined by Wm. Penn Clarke in a speech to the electors of Muscatine, Johnson, and Iowa counties. "It will be said", he predicted, "that the present building is unfinished; that to complete it, will cost as much as would erect a smaller and less expensive one at the rival point; that it would be folly to expend money on this work, and subsequently remove the seat of government elsewhere; and thus many persons in other portions of the State, who are indifferent to the subject, and unadvised as to the injustice which will be done us, may be induced to vote for candidates who will carry out this scheme. To quiet the center, we shall probably be promised a State University, or something of that character, and then be cheated in the end; for the State will not locate such an institution in the same place where there are already one or two chartered institutions of learning in operation. Those, then, who vote for the ratification of the Constitution, do so with the almost moral certainty that the removal of the seat of government from this point, will be one of the first consequences of its adoption."²⁴

²³ Shambaugh's *Debates of the Iowa Constitutional Conventions of 1844 and 1846*, p. 399, reprinted from *The Bloomington Herald*, July 17, 1846.

²⁴ Shambaugh's *Debates of the Iowa Constitutional Conventions of 1844 and 1846*, p. 364, reprinted from *The Iowa Standard* (Iowa City), July 22, 1846.

The Constitution of 1846 was ratified by the people and Iowa became a State. The population in 1847 numbered 116,454, an increase of 73,342 over that of 1840. Of this increase, 25,034 people lived in counties where no count was made in 1840, all but three of which lay to the west and southwest of the area enumerated in 1840. In 1847 the population of the counties west, southwest, and south of Iowa, Johnson, and Muscatine counties totaled 79,748, while that of all the others, or what might have been called the northern part of the State, amounted to only 36,706. From these figures it is obvious that the center of population was still shifting rapidly to the west and southwest, although it had not yet passed Iowa City. The geographical center of the State, as bounded by the Constitution of 1846, was, however, about one hundred miles farther west and some twenty-five miles north of Iowa City.

The anxiety felt by those who wished to retain the capital at Iowa City that the representatives of southern and western sections of the State in the First General Assembly would be disposed to take advantage of the opportunity for removal afforded by the Constitution was indeed justified. A memorial to Congress representing that "in view of the extended limits of the State, and the rapid increase of our population, the public mind is beginning to look forward to an ultimate change in the location of our Seat of Government"; that the "selection of a new site, with a view to its permanent location, at as early a day as practicable is believed to be important"; and that an "additional grant of five sections of land, to be selected under the direction of the General Assembly" was desired, passed both houses of the General Assembly and was approved by Governor Ansel Briggs on February 8, 1847. Nothing, however, came of this

memorial: indeed it does not appear that it ever reached Congress.²⁵

On February 2, 1847, Evan Jay of Henry County introduced in the Iowa Senate a bill to provide for the location of the seat of government and for the selection of the land granted by Congress on March 3, 1845, to aid in erecting public buildings.²⁶ The bill passed the Senate on February 12th, but in the House of Representatives several attempts at amendment were made. Elijah Sells of Muscatine County proposed that after a new site for the capital had been selected the question of whether this new location or Iowa City should be the permanent seat of government should be decided by a vote of the people at a general election. This amendment having failed Mr. Sells made a motion calling for the appointment of a select committee whose duty it should be to report three distinct sites from which the people should choose one as the permanent capital. Stewart Goodrell of Washington County submitted the proposition that Iowa City should remain the capital until 1858. Motions were made to locate the seat of government at Burlington and at Mount Pleasant, all of which failed. Finally, William E. Leffingwell of Clinton County thoroughly exasperated with the persistence of the advocates of capital removal, moved to divert the appropriation of Congress of March 3, 1845 "from the purpose for which it was originally

²⁵ *Iowa Historical and Comparative Census*, 1880, pp. 196, 198; *Senate Journal*, 1846-1847, pp. 125, 160, 161, 167, 169, 185, 191, 195, 198; *House Journal*, 1846-1847, pp. 217, 222, 232, 238, 256; *Laws of Iowa*, 1846-1847, p. 204.

²⁶ In an act supplementary to the first act admitting Iowa and Florida to the Union, Congress granted five sections of any unappropriated United States land within Iowa "for the purpose of completing the public buildings of the said State, or for the erection of public buildings at the seat of government", the land to be selected and located and the use to be determined as the State legislature should direct. All of the provisions of this act remained in force when Iowa was finally admitted to the Union on December 28, 1846.—*United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. V, p. 790; Vol. IX, p. 117.

intended", and use it to build a "city in the Republic of the valley of the Desmoines."²⁷

The bitter fight ended at last in a compromise whereby the State University was to be located at Iowa City upon the removal of the capital farther west. The strong argument for the central location of the capital finally prevailed, but the opposition was doubtless right in the contention that immediate removal was premature. It was asked in derision what the word permanent meant in Iowa legislation. In the case of the location of the capital at Iowa City it had meant about eight years. The Iowa City *Standard* regretted "exceedingly to see a premature agitation of the question of a permanent location of the Capital, and the University of Iowa. No good can result from it in our opinion. We have no doubt that the seat of government will some day be removed from Iowa City; and when the weight of population on the west shall require it, we shall have nothing to say against it. But Iowa City now occupies a

²⁷ *Senate Journal*, 1846-1847, pp. 176, 177, 192, 197, 202, 203, 207, 208, 210, 211, 212, 217, 218, 244, 247, 255, 256; *House Journal*, 1846-1847, pp. 301, 311, 319-324, 333-336, 342; *Laws of Iowa*, 1846-1847, pp. 85-87.

So imbued with the spirit of capital removal did one member of the First General Assembly become that he introduced a joint resolution to move the seat of government of the United States to the Raccoon Forks of the Des Moines River. The motion was tabled indefinitely, but the committee on agriculture, in reporting on a petition presented by numerous citizens of Iowa City and Johnson County who were exasperated by their unavailing efforts to retain the capital, and begged "among other novelties, that the General Assembly permit the citizens of said county to enjoy reasonable health and abundant crops, together with other blessings denied them by nature and their own energies", ventured the opinion with an air of badinage that when "your Committee takes into consideration the growing importance of the country about the Raccoon Forks of the Desmoines river, and compare the same with the District of Columbia, they cannot refrain from expressing their belief that, although our Representatives may not be able to remove said Seat of Government 'immediately,' the day is nevertheless, not far distant, when this great object will have been accomplished, thus bringing the Seat of the Federal Government in juxtaposition with your petitioners; thereby affording them a more favorable opportunity to press their claims upon that august Body, the Congress of the United States." — *House Journal*, 1846-1847, pp. 324, 343, 388, 435, 436.

central position to the population of the State, and will for a long time to come." It was believed in 1847 that "a very large portion of the country lying west of the Des Moines and its tributaries, is a barren waste, destitute of timber, made up of lakes, marshes, and sand hills, incapable of being inhabited, so that the weight of population for a long time to come, at least, if not forever, must preponderate in favor of that portion of the State in the more immediate vicinity of the Mississippi river, which is now, and must always be by far the most important portion of the State of Iowa."²⁸

Another argument advanced to confound the friends of capital removal was to the effect that the five sections of land for the completion and erection of public buildings had been granted by Congress under the Constitution of 1844, which declared Iowa City to be the capital until 1865, and had been revived under the Constitution of 1846, which also declared Iowa City to be the seat of government. The land, it was asserted, was therefore intended to be used only for the benefit of the public buildings at Iowa City, and the grant was not in the nature of a trust fund to be reserved to erect buildings at a new seat of government. Consequently, if any use was to be made of this land it must be for the purpose of completing the public buildings at Iowa City; while the funds for buildings at a new seat of government would have to come as private donations, unless Congress could be prevailed upon to grant more land. These arguments seem to have had but little weight, however, being based on the interpretation of an exceedingly slender technicality of the act of Congress.²⁹

After the bill providing for the appointment of commis-

²⁸ *Laws of Iowa, 1846-1847*, pp. 188, 189; *The Iowa Standard* (Iowa City), February 10, September 29, 1847.

²⁹ *The Iowa Standard* (Iowa City), February 17, September 29, 1847.

sioners to locate a new capital had actually become a law the people opposed to it consoled themselves with the thought that further legislation would be required to move the capital from Iowa City, for the location made by the commissioners would be only prospective. They believed that the matter of expense would deter the people from permitting the actual re-location of the seat of government for many years to come, since they would not be willing to tax themselves a hundred thousand dollars to erect another capitol building so soon. Citizens of Iowa City were appeased by the promise of the University, feeling "very thankful that we have made so good an exchange. We would greatly prefer the University to the seat of government; and we now regard real estate in this city, as worth fifty per cent more than it was before the meeting of the General Assembly."³⁰

The act of February 22, 1847, appointed as commissioners John Brown of Lee County, Joseph D. Hoag of Henry County, and John Taylor of Jones County, who were to meet during May of that year, examine such parts of the State as were deemed suitable, select the amount of land appropriated by Congress, and locate the permanent seat of government "as near the geographical centre as, in the opinion of the commissioners, may be consistent with an eligible and healthy site, the general features of the surrounding country and the interest of the State generally". After selecting the land and locating the capital, the commissioners were to have the town platted, causing a square to be laid off, containing not less than five acres, upon which to erect the capitol. Provision was made for a public sale of lots, the proceeds from which were to be used to defray expenses and erect public buildings. The commissioners

³⁰ *The Iowa Standard* (Iowa City), February 10, March 3, September 29, 1847.

were allowed three dollars a day and expenses for their services.³¹

As directed by law the commissioners met and proceeded to examine some of the settled as well as unsettled parts of the State. Indeed, the entire summer and autumn were spent in the work, so that each of the commissioners was actually employed approximately one hundred and forty days, and thus their services alone cost the State over \$1250. First a thorough examination of the Des Moines Valley was made without a suitable location being found. In August it was reported that the commissioners were to explore the country along the upper part of the Iowa River, near the geographical center of the State. There was a rumor that if they met with no better success here, the whole project of capital removal might be again thrown before the General Assembly. Later, however, public opinion seems to have settled upon Oskaloosa and Tool's Point,³² as the places most likely to be chosen for the capital. About the middle of September the site was agreed upon, consisting of sections four, five, eight, nine, the west half of section three and the west half of section ten in township number seventy-eight, of range twenty west of the fifth principal meridian. It was described as "a point unrivaled in natural beauty", situated "on a beautiful prairie in Jasper county, between the Desmoines and Skunk rivers, about six miles from the

³¹ *Laws of Iowa*, 1846-1847, pp. 85-87.

The public buildings at Iowa City and the ten acres of land on which they were situated were granted to the State University of Iowa, but the sessions of the General Assembly were to be held and the offices of the State officials were to remain there until otherwise provided for by law.—*Laws of Iowa*, 1846-1847, p. 188.

³² In the summer of 1843 Adam Tool, in company with a few other pioneers, made the first settlement in Jasper County, staking out their claims in Fairview Township. Mr. Tool's house, being large and on the trail from Oskaloosa to Fort Des Moines, soon earned the title of "Tool's Tavern". As the settlement grew a town was platted which was called Tool's Point. A few years later the name was changed to Monroe.—*Weaver's Past and Present of Jasper County, Iowa*, Vol. I, pp. 54, 55, 57, 291.

former and five from the latter, in the most beautiful and fertile section of country in Iowa''. Excellent timber extended to within a short distance on either side, while there was an abundance of stone and coal in the immediate vicinity. Monroe City, as the place was named by the commissioners,³³ was some twenty-five miles east of the present city of Des Moines, thirty-three miles from Oskaloosa, and eighty-four miles west of Iowa City. It was about two miles southeast of the present town of Prairie City.³⁴

In August, 1847, five or six hundred Hollanders established a colony at Pella, about fifteen miles southeast of Monroe City. This event, in connection with the location of the new capital, led to a general rush of speculators to that region. It was said that the country for a considerable distance above Tool's Point was literally all staked off. The sale of lots in Monroe City lasted six days, beginning on October 28, 1847,³⁵ and four hundred and fifteen lots were sold at prices ranging all the way from one to three hundred and one dollars. The amount received from the first payment was \$1797.43 — a sum which lacked \$409.14 of being enough to pay the expenses and salaries of the commissioners. John Brown and Joseph D. Hoag, it seems, felt so much confidence in the new city that they invested heavily in lots and adjacent land; and thus they cherished dreams of even more ample remuneration for their services.³⁶

³³ Apropos of the name of the future capital of Iowa one newspaper had this to say: "Among the thousands of beautiful Indian names — indigenous to the soil — we think that they might have selected a more appropriate and handsome name than 'Monroe City'." — *The Bloomington Herald*, October 2, 1847.

³⁴ *House Journal*, 1848-1849, pp. 199, 210; *The Iowa Standard* (Iowa City), August 4, September 22, 1847; *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. IX, p. 570.

³⁵ October 31, 1847, was Sunday, but the report of the commissioners states that the sales were continued from day to day until November 2nd, inclusive. — *House Journal*, 1848-1849, p. 199.

³⁶ Van der Zee's *The Hollanders of Iowa*, pp. 66, 67; *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. IX, p. 570; *House Journal*, 1848-1849, pp. 199-210.

The capital city had not been located at the much-talked-of Raccoon Forks of the Des Moines River, neither was it within thirty-five miles of the geographical center of the State. Yet, aside from an opportunity for speculation, the action of the commissioners in choosing such a location caused little comment. Even the people in Iowa City felt "but little interest in this movement at present, being satisfied that the legislature will not remove the seat of government from this place, until the population shall have so increased in the west as to render it an act of justice to do so." Everyone seemed content to hope that the act for relocating the capital passed by the First General Assembly in 1846-1847 would be repealed at the following session.³⁷

In January, 1848, an extra session of the First General Assembly was called chiefly for the purpose of revising the school laws and electing United States Senators. Immediately one hundred and twenty-two citizens of the State seized the opportunity to encourage the repeal of the law of the previous session providing for the re-location of the capital. A bill to that effect was introduced in the Senate on January 22nd and passed that body two days later, but failed to come to a vote in the House of Representatives. A joint resolution relative to the seat of government (probably being concerned in some way with the location or plat of Monroe City, since it was referred to the committee on county and township organization) also passed the Senate, but came to naught in the House. A resolution instructing the committee on county and township organization to inquire into the expediency of accepting Monroe City as the location for the new capital was tabled. The report of the commissioners was submitted to the Senate and ordered to be filed in the office of the Secretary of State.³⁸

³⁷ *The Iowa Standard* (Iowa City), August 4, September 8, 1847.

³⁸ Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. I, pp. 370-378; *Senate Journal*, 1848 (Extra Session), pp. 33, 51, 60, 61, 66, 107, 111, 112, 115; *House Journal*, 1848 (Extra Session), pp. 48, 116, 123, 142, 175, 193.

The Second General Assembly had been in session only eight days when a resolution to investigate the propriety of vacating Monroe City was adopted by the Senate. At the request of the House of Representatives the Governor transmitted the report of the Monroe City commissioners to that body on December 15, 1848. After being read the report was referred to a select committee with instructions to report "how much of said city of Monroe was under water and how much was burned up." On the eighteenth of December Mr. Joseph F. Harrison, the Representative from Muscatine, Johnson, and Iowa counties and a member of the select committee, introduced a bill to repeal the act of the First General Assembly providing for the re-location of the seat of government. Mr. L. W. Babbitt, representing Marion, Polk, Dallas, and Jasper counties wanted to amend the bill so as to locate the capital at Fort Des Moines, provided the citizens of Polk County should refund to the purchasers of lots in Monroe City all money paid thereon. When this amendment failed Babbitt suggested that the citizens of Iowa City refund the money paid by owners of lots in Monroe City if they wished to retain the capital. The bill finally passed the House unaltered. The Senate, however, referred the measure to the committee on public buildings which reported a substitute that was passed by the Senate and agreed to by the House of Representatives.³⁹

By the terms of this law the Treasurer of the State was instructed to refund all money paid by purchasers of lots in Monroe City, except to the commissioners who had in-

³⁹ *Senate Journal*, 1848-1849, pp. 34, 45, 98, 107, 218, 231, 232, 240, 259; *House Journal*, 1848-1849, pp. 183, 211, 218, 224, 238, 242-244, 410, 427, 428, 432; Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. I, pp. 415, 416.

Once during the session of the Second General Assembly a bill to locate the capital and the State University, and to donate the public buildings at Iowa City to the Latter-day Saints was introduced but was soon withdrawn.— *House Journal*, 1848-1849, p. 271.

vested there,⁴⁰ and the site of the proposed future capital of Iowa was declared vacated, being relegated once more to the rattle-snakes, gophers, and prairie dogs.⁴¹

No sooner had it become known that Monroe City had been vacated and that the permanent location of the seat of government was again an open question than the hopes and aspirations of each locality that was in the slightest way fitted for becoming the capital soared to the sky. Capital re-location was such a constantly recurring topic in the Third General Assembly that a Representative offered a resolution one day that the removal of the seat of govern-

⁴⁰ John Taylor, who had purchased no lots in Monroe City, was allowed the balance of his salary, \$204.40, by the Second General Assembly, but John Brown and Joseph D. Hoag experienced much difficulty, not only in securing reimbursement of the money spent in purchasing lots, but in securing their salaries as commissioners. Time and again they petitioned the General Assembly without success: that body took the attitude that they had been governed more by private considerations than by a determination to advance the interests of the State, and that therefore they deserved no relief. Finally, in 1855, the Fifth General Assembly allowed John Brown the sum of \$292.70 as payment in full for his services as a commissioner to locate the seat of government and as a return of all money paid by him for lots at Monroe City. On his part he was to relinquish to the State all claim to the lots purchased by him. Joseph D. Hoag, however, was less fortunate. Until 1860 he continued to petition one house or the other of the General Assembly. The committee on claims in the House of Representatives of the Eighth General Assembly (1860) reported favorably on his claim and recommended the passage of a bill allowing him the balance of his salary, the \$80.18 he had invested in Monroe City lots, and interest at six percent on the whole amount from the time the report of the commissioners had been filed in 1847. The bill was tabled, however, and Hoag, discouraged in his long and futile efforts, seems to have given up in despair.—*Senate Journal*, 1848–1849, pp. 88, 199, 221, 236, 241, 254, 260, 263; 1850–1851, p. 207; 1852–1853, pp. 96, 142, 257, 293, 294, 297; 1854–1855, pp. 36, 123, 156, 164, 165, 177, 187, 188, 227, 234, 237, 246, 247, 318, 319; 1858, pp. 77, 390; *House Journal*, 1848–1849, p. 408; 1850–1851, pp. 40, 192, 238, 239, 248; 1852–1853, pp. 159, 302, 315, 347; 1854–1855, pp. 58, 277, 289, 310, 311, 312, 325, 326, 345, 448; 1856–1857, pp. 145, 154, 167, 204, 205, 230, 231, 360, 378, 395, 396, 412, 413, 458; 1860, pp. 120, 436, 437, 653; *Laws of Iowa*, 1848–1849, p. 193; *Laws of Iowa*, 1854–1855, p. 272, 273.

⁴¹ *Laws of Iowa*, 1848–1849, p. 147. The proceeds from the sale of the five sections of land selected by the commissioners in Jasper County for the capital was appropriated by the Seventh General Assembly for the benefit of the State Agricultural College established at that time.—*Laws of Iowa*, 1858, p. 174.

ment be postponed until after the storm. Seventy-four petitions, signed by practically four thousand three hundred citizens, all of them from the southern counties, were presented — sixty-two in the House and twelve in the Senate.

Thirty-eight of these petitions favored Fort Des Moines as the site for the capital, thirty-one were for Oskaloosa, eleven for Pella, two for Red Rock, and two others simply asked that the seat of government be moved. While the number of petitions would seem to indicate that Fort Des Moines was the favorite location for the capital, Oskaloosa was probably the choice of the greatest number of petitioners. In the petitions presented to the House 1662 signers asked that the capital be located at Oskaloosa, 204 were in favor of Pella, while only 155 could be mustered for Fort Des Moines. Furthermore, three remonstrances were received from Marion County against removing the seat of government to Fort Des Moines, probably with the hope of improving the chances of Oskaloosa, Pella, or Red Rock (now Cordova).⁴²

The Hollanders at Pella were particularly anxious to win the capital of the State for their town. Henry P. Scholte, one of the leaders in the colony, offered to donate land sufficient for a site. The committee on federal relations, to which his memorial was referred, reported in the following reassuring words: "We are of the opinion, that the petitioner has no reason to fear that Pella will be overlooked or in anywise neglected, whenever the legislature may deem it necessary to relocate the seat of government, from the fact that a majority of the citizens of that place were from Holland, we make no distinction between our own native citizens and those of any foreign country".⁴³

⁴² *House Journal*, 1850-1851, pp. 69, 72, 113, 160, 161, 166, 173, 177, 178, 185, 207, 208, 216, 220, 235, 244, 249, 350; *Senate Journal*, 1850-1851, pp. 59, 66, 67, 113, 119, 120, 125, 143, 144, 170, 218, 307.

⁴³ *House Journal*, 1850-1851, pp. 69, 160, 168.

Two bills — one locating the permanent capital at Fort Des Moines and the other at Pella — were introduced in the House of Representatives during the Third General Assembly in 1850–1851. They were referred to a select committee which reported as follows:

The select committee to whom was referred H. R. file No. 128, a bill for “an act to locate the seat of government of the state of Iowa at Fort Des Moines;” and H. R. file No. 161, a bill for “an act to provide for the location of the permanent seat of government of the state of Iowa at Pella,” together with sundry petitions upon the same subject, report that they find that Fort Des Moines has a majority of the petitioners in its favor for the future seat of government over all other places petitioned for.

Your committee taking into consideration the probable increase of population in the western portion of the state, are of opinion that the seat of government cannot in justice to that portion of the state remain but a few years at Iowa City.

Your committee entertain no doubt that when the seat of government is removed that it will be re-located at the town of Fort Des Moines.

Your committee are of opinion that the time for said removal as fixed in H. R. file No. 128 is just and equitable, and that the seat of government ought to be removed at that time.

Your committee therefore recommend the passage of H. R. file No. 128, and that H. R. file No. 161 be indefinitely postponed.

One Representative thought the matter ought to be decided by a vote of the people at the next general election, but the majority of the members were of another mind. The bill to remove the capital to Fort Des Moines being under consideration, Cedar Falls, Pella, and Davenport were offered as substitutes to no avail; and finally the bill was dropped. A bill of the same character was introduced in the Senate, but never came to a vote.⁴⁴

The whole situation was well summarized by the com-

⁴⁴ *House Journal*, 1850–1851, pp. 221, 236, 289, 326–330; *Senate Journal*, pp. 175, 186, 187, 224, 238, 250, 288.

mittee on public buildings in the House of Representatives which reported as follows:

The first thing that your committee considered with reference to the prayer of your petitioners was, should the capital be removed at all, from Iowa City? To this proposition there are many weighty objections, some of which it may be necessary to notice in this report.

Your committee are of the opinion that removing the capital of a state is of too much importance to be acted upon without due consideration, and weighing well the consequences to the state and the justice and injustice to individuals.

To remove the capital before public opinion has settled upon the site of the future seat of government would not have the effect of allaying public excitement on that subject but on the contrary would increase it. Although a large majority of the petitioners ask that the capital be located at Oskaloosa, yet to grant their prayer would only increase petitions from other quarters for the simple reason that public opinion has not settled upon any place in preference to all others. This should cause us to pause. There is too much at stake to act hastily.

But there are reasons of a pecuniary character which ought to have their due influence in controlling the vote of the general assembly on this important question.

We have at the present seat of government a state house built at great expense, and if the capital be removed the state must build another house at an expense of probably one hundred thousand dollars. This is a matter of some consequence to the state of Iowa without a dime in the treasury, and in debt to an amount of near the maximum that we are allowed to go in debt under our constitution. How is the house to be built? It must be by taxation. Those towns which are petitioning for the capital offer lands, &c., to aid in building the state house, but your committee have but little confidence in the state realising much from such offers. Different places have made bids of this kind. While your committee would not recommend the selling of the capital to the highest bidder, yet, other things being equal, money or lands sufficient to build a good state house, might with propriety be taken by the state, and would remove one great objection to the removing at this time.

But then another objection to removing the capital, which your

committee think claims notice and demands the calm consideration of the House.

Many persons have located in and near Iowa City *because it was the Capital of the State*, and as we have reason to suppose they expected it to remain so. With this expectation they paid more for their property than they otherwise would have done. Under this belief, they have built houses, commenced merchandising and invested their funds in many ways, on the faith of the state permitting the Capital to remain. These persons, if the Capital be removed, must be the sufferers to some considerable extent. Perhaps to the ruin of many. The interest therefore of the state, and the interest of individuals, stand against the removal of the seat of government; and these objections are of themselves sufficient to cause the legislature to act with much caution. People are to[o] apt to act from selfish and local feelings on subjects of this nature. No such feelings should ever actuate any one, much less any member of the State Legislature. With feelings of impartiality, and for the good of the whole State, should we consider such a question.

It then became the duty of your committee to examine the reasons which your petitioners urge for the removal. They are, principally, that Iowa City being on one side of the state, (within thirty miles of the state line) is too far remote from the centre of population, and from the geographical center of the state, to remain the seat of government much longer, that the convenience of the citizens of Iowa demand that the Capital be somewhere in the valley of the Des Moines river.

Your committee are well aware that this is an argument of much force and difficult to answer, when the present Capital is so far from the centre of population now, and every year becoming more and more so, in consequence of the middle and western part of the state increasing faster in population than the eastern. The justice of having the Capital near the centre of population, no one will attempt to deny.

At the time the present seat of government was located, Iowa City was on the extreme west of the settlements; but settlements have constantly been increasing westwardly, until they have reached the Missouri river, (the western boundary of Iowa.)

Under these circumstances, in justice to the *whole* state, is it right and proper that Iowa City should be the future Capital? Can we,

in looking at the geography of Iowa, say the Capital shall never go any further west? Your committee are unable to come to any such conclusion.

While they think it impolitic and premature, to pass any law removing the Capital, at this time, yet they think that in a few years the Capital must, and of right ought to be located further west.

As your committee think it premature to remove the Capital at this time, therefore, they do not see proper to recommend any site for it to be placed. The three places petitioned for, viz: Pella, Oskaloosa and Fort Des Moines, are either of them, considered near enough the centre of prospective population; and, also the geographical centre, for the future capitol. So far as your committee know, they all, and each, possess many advantages which would recommend them, as a proper place for a site on which to locate the new capital. But your committee will not recommend either in preference to the other, believing that the question should be fairly and openly discussed before the people, and that public opinion will fix upon some place and justice be done to all.

Your committee in conclusion, beg leave to submit the following resolutions:

Resolved, That justice to the citizens in the western part of the state, will in a few years, demand that the Capital be removed westwardly.

Resolved, That it is inexpedient to legislate on the subject of removing the Capital at this time.⁴⁵

The experience of the Third General Assembly on the capital removal question was repeated at the succeeding legislative session. Thirty-one petitions were sent to the Senate and eight to the House of Representatives. Twenty-eight of them favored the establishment of the State capital at Fort Des Moines. On the petitions read in the Senate alone there were 1642 signatures, of which 1209 were for the Des Moines location, 146 for Pella, 131 for Oskaloosa, and 105 for Tool's Point. All of the petitions presented in the House favored Fort Des Moines.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ *House Journal*, 1850-1851, pp. 350-353.

⁴⁶ *Senate Journal*, 1852-1853, pp. 35, 68, 69, 80, 85, 96, 97, 102, 108, 117, 119, 120, 126, 132, 141, 197; *House Journal*, 1852-1853, pp. 91, 177, 191, 263, 276, 308.

As testimonials of the good faith of the petitioners and as added inducements to the government, various propositions were offered. Certain citizens of Mahaska County presented a bond of \$50,000 contingent upon the removal of the seat of government to Oskaloosa, while citizens of Fort Des Moines and Polk County gave a bond guaranteeing to save the State any expense incurred in removing the capital to Fort Des Moines. Henry P. Scholte again offered to donate land to the State if the capital should be located at Pella. His proposition was duplicated by Adam M. Tool and other citizens of Jasper County, while another group of Jasper County citizens proposed to give either land or money, provided the seat of government should be established at Tool's Point.⁴⁷

A bill to locate the capital at Pella and another to establish it at Fort Des Moines were introduced in the Senate during the Fourth General Assembly in 1852-1853; but neither bill was passed. There was also presented a resolution requesting that the difference in the amount of mileage of State officers in going to and from the various points suggested as capitals be estimated in order to aid in determining upon the re-location of the seat of government, but the resolution was not adopted.⁴⁸

It was during the session of the Fourth General Assembly that Senator A. Y. Hull of Polk County did his utmost to win the capital for Fort Des Moines. In a speech delivered on December 31, 1852, he deplored the local jealousies engendered between citizens of the same Commonwealth, urging that the people act together for the ultimate welfare of the State. Fort Des Moines he regarded as the only eligible site for the capital, "situated in the center of the state, at the head of the proposed navigation, on a beautiful eleva-

⁴⁷ *Senate Journal*, 1852-1853, pp. 51, 52, 97, 102, 108, 117, 136, 159, 214.

⁴⁸ *Senate Journal*, 1852-1853, pp. 25, 26, 35, 40, 41, 48, 94, 95, 97, 114, 118, 124, 129-131, 135-139, 141, 144, 145.

tion between the two rivers, far above the contingency of high water, in a region of unsurpassed fertility, surrounded by timber, the region roundabout underlaid with coal, with extensive mines of gypsum, tributary thereto, and with an abundance of pure water." A strong reason, he thought, for the immediate re-location of the seat of government was the great system of internal improvements which was being developed. It was deemed important that the location of the permanent capital be effected before the railroad lines were established. "Give us the Capital at Fort Des Moines," he said, "railroads checquering our entire State bringing us in connection with the cities of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers — the Des Moines river on the South — [and] we will grow up a great and prosperous inland city which, in point of commercial importance, will be second to no city in the west."⁴⁹

When the Fifth General Assembly (1854–1855) met it was generally understood that the removal of the capital could not be postponed much longer. From 1847 to 1854 the population of Iowa grew from 116,454 to 326,500; while in the two years following there was an increase of 191,375. Whereas in 1847 the census had been taken in only thirty-two counties, in 1854 the enumeration covered sixty-seven counties and in 1856 fourteen more were added, all but one of the latter being north or northwest of Fort Des Moines.⁵⁰ It had been discovered that the western part of the State was by no means the barren area it had been supposed to be. Settlements were being made in the farthestmost corners, and it was evident that it would be only a short time until

⁴⁹ Brigham's *History of Des Moines and Polk County, Iowa*, Vol. I, pp. 137, 138.

⁵⁰ *Iowa Historical and Comparative Census*, 1880, pp. 196–198. The next census was not taken until 1859, two years after the capital had been established at Des Moines. Then the population of the State was 642,578 and there were only seven of the present counties which the count did not include.

the western part of the State would equal, if not surpass, the eastern section in importance. As time went on the citizens of eastern Iowa had become reconciled to the inevitable removal of the seat of government. The very first bill introduced in the House of Representatives of the Fifth General Assembly, in which fifty of the sixty-four Representatives were from the east and southeast, was to re-locate the capital, although few petitions on the subject were presented. In both houses resolutions were offered to remove the seat of government nearer the center of the State, urging that it was the duty of the Assembly to act at once. Public opinion seems to have quite generally settled upon Fort Des Moines as the logical place for the future State capital, strategically situated as it was on the greatest interior waterway of Iowa and at a point approximating the center of the Commonwealth.⁵¹

The fight in the General Assembly for the adoption of an act authorizing the removal of the capital to Des Moines was, however, by no means tame or uneventful. General James A. Williamson, who was prominent among those who secured the legislation for removal, when asked by an investigating committee what influences he had used, replied that he had employed "all lawful and legal means . . . including Chesapeake and Sardinian appliances, and any quantity of whiskey." Furthermore, Robert Gower declared in the constitutional convention of 1857 that the capital had been moved to Des Moines to satisfy the "selfishness of the few", that the means used were "money, town lots, and oyster suppers", openly maintaining that the passage of the act had been procured by fraud and bribery. He produced correspondence to show that a big lobby from Fort Des Moines had been present during a large portion of

⁵¹ *House Journal*, 1854-1855, pp. 55, 56, 60, 139-142, 200, 234; *Senate Journal*, 1854-1855, pp. 94, 117; *Iowa City Republican*, June 5, 1856; *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. VI, p. 381.

the session and that members of the General Assembly had been offered many inducements to vote for the removal of the capital to that place. It seems that certain citizens of Des Moines even appropriated some land to defray the expenses of persons kept at Iowa City to lobby the bill through the legislature.

Bills were introduced in both houses, the one originating in the Senate finally gaining enactment. An attempt was made to have the act read Oskaloosa in place of a point within two miles of the junction of the Des Moines and Raccoon rivers; several efforts were made to extend the scope of the area within which the site could be selected; and in both houses amendments were offered referring the whole matter to a vote of the people; but the bill finally escaped unscathed.⁵²

The Governor was to appoint five commissioners to determine upon the exact site. They were to meet during the following April, take an oath for the faithful and impartial discharge of their duties, and proceed to locate the seat of government "within two miles of the junction of the Des Moines and Raccoon rivers". In making the selection it was their duty to obtain at least enough land for the capitol and other necessary buildings without charge to the State, and all other grants and donations within their power. Suitable buildings were to be erected without expense to the State,

⁵² *Report on Alleged Frauds in the Location of the Capitol*, pp. 37-44; *Debates of the Constitutional Convention of 1857*, Vol. II, pp. 923, 924; *Senate Journal*, 1854-1855, pp. 32, 51, 59, 128, 134, 135, 144, 145-149, 157, 160, 237, 260, 288; *House Journal*, 1854-1855, pp. 91, 120, 264-266, 293-302, 311, 333, 334, 397.

Those who favored Mount Pleasant for the seat of government were probably pacified by the tacit understanding that the State insane asylum would be located there, although Fairfield and Oskaloosa were also mentioned in that connection. Indeed, it appears that an extensive building was begun at Mount Pleasant without authority of law. Actual establishment did not occur until 1858.—*Debates of the Constitutional Convention of 1857*, Vol. II, pp. 925, 926; *Laws of Iowa*, 1858, p. 264.

the General Assembly meeting and the State officers retaining their offices at Iowa City until accommodations were provided at the new seat of government.⁵³

Governor James W. Grimes appointed Joseph H. D. Street, Stewart Goodrell, Benjamin R. Pegram, Guy Wells, and John A. L. Crookham as the locating commission.⁵⁴ They met at Fort Des Moines on April 18, 1856, were duly qualified, and proceeded with their work. Great excitement prevailed at the Raccoon Forks of the Des Moines River. The fort and settlement on the west side of the Des Moines River afforded many advantages, but large tracts of land were owned by speculators east of the river. The people on the west side accused those on the east of offering personal bribes to the commissioners; while the citizens to the east of the river replied that similar inducements had already been used by parties on the west side. The feeling was intense, sometimes vituperative. A donation of twenty acres of land worth nearly \$100,000, to be used as the location of the capitol, and real estate worth approximately \$200,000 offered to the State at a fair price, were the inducements presented by citizens on the west side for the location of the capitol in

⁵³ *Laws of Iowa, 1854-1855*, pp. 105-107.

A Democratic senatorial convention for the twenty-sixth district held at Marshall (now Marshalltown), on June 28, 1856, adopted the following resolution: "*Resolved*, That the Democracy of the 26th Senatorial District of the State of Iowa, are opposed to the location and removal of the State Capital, from Iowa City to Ft. Des Moines or Desmoines City, and that we will use our endeavors by every consistent and legitimate means to retain the same where it now is." A similar resolution was adopted by the Republican convention held at Toledo. An attempt to repeal the act to locate the capital at Des Moines during the extra session of the General Assembly in 1856 was indefinitely postponed.—*Daily Evening Reporter* (Iowa City), July 12, 1856; *House Journal, 1856* (Extra Session), p. 74.

⁵⁴ A contemporary account gives Lincoln Clark as one of the commissioners in place of Joseph H. D. Street. His name does not appear in the official records, however. Mr. Street was president of the commission and Mr. Crookham, secretary.—*The Daily Gate City* (Keokuk), March 15, 1856; *Report on Alleged Frauds in the Location of the Capitol*, pp. 30, 69.

what is now West Des Moines. It appears, however, that all but one of the commissioners (Mr. Goodrell) became privately interested in property east of the Des Moines River, which fact offers about the only apparent reason why they should have accepted a smaller bonus to the State and chosen the location which is the present site of the capitol building.⁵⁵ A tract of land containing a little over ten acres, donated by W. A. Scott and Harrison Lyon, was selected on April 21st for the location of the state-house. The site was described by Governor Grimes as "a gentle swell of land about three quarters of a mile east of Fort Des Moines, and on the east side of the river. It commands a good prospect and seems to be well adapted to the purpose for which it has been selected."⁵⁶

To fulfill the further requirements of the law that a suitable building must be erected without cost to the State, a

⁵⁵ In 1858 a committee was appointed by the House of Representatives to investigate charges of alleged frauds in the location of the capitol in 1856, made by the citizens of Polk County who probably still entertained hopes of disturbing the location of the capitol if not causing its removal to the west side of the river in Des Moines. Two charges were entered against the commissioners: that they had not acted with a "strict regard to the interests of the entire State" and that they had suffered themselves to be influenced by personal bribes. While enough evidence was produced to convince the majority of the committee of the truth of the indictment, nothing definite could be ascertained because the chief witnesses refused to testify.—*House Journal*, 1858, pp. 711-717; *Report on Alleged Frauds in the Location of the Capitol*, pp. 28, 29.

⁵⁶ *House Journal*, 1858, pp. 712-716; Brigham's *History of Des Moines and Polk County, Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 141; *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. IV, p. 110; Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, p. 36; *The Daily Gate City* (Keokuk), April 30, 1856; *The Washington Press*, May 7, 1856; *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), July 4, 1909; *Proceedings of the Pioneer Lawmakers' Association of Iowa*, 1902, pp. 77, 78.

The city of Des Moines, consisting of seven wards, three on the east side of the Des Moines River and four on the west, was incorporated by an act approved on January 28, 1857, which took effect on February 16, 1857. The word "Fort" was now dropped from the name.—*Laws of Iowa, 1856-1857*, pp. 281-296.

Aside from the tract of land upon which the capitol is located two other important conveyances were made to the State in 1856. James A. Williamson and Thomas A. Walker gave about two and one-fifth acres, known as State

Capitol Building Association was organized, consisting of the citizens of Des Moines, among whom the most prominent were Thomas K. Brooks, W. A. Scott, James A. Williamson, Joseph M. Griffith, Harry H. Griffith, J. D. Cavenor, Alexander Shaw, and Harrison Lyon.⁵⁷ During the summer of 1856 work upon the three-story structure known as the Old Brick Capitol, located on lots eleven and twelve in block six of Scott's Addition where the Soldiers' Monument now stands, was pushed with energy, the masonry work being finished by October. It was impossible, however, to have the building ready for the use of the Sixth General Assembly during the winter of 1856-1857. Following the location of the capital, trade and speculation had been rampant in Des Moines, but in the fall there came hard times; and the capitol and other large buildings were only partially completed. An Iowa City newspaper, still clinging to the idea that the removal of the capital was premature, thought it would be "the part of wisdom to keep the Capital where it is, until permanent buildings are erected; in view of the accessibility of Iowa City and the unquestioned fact that it is the centre of the more populous part of the State."⁵⁸

Square, bounded on the west by Thirteenth Street, on the east by C Street, on the north by Walker Street, and on the south by Maple Street. This tract of land was sold by the State for \$8500 in accordance with an act of the Thirtieth General Assembly. Governor's Square, containing a little over five and one-half acres, bounded by Walnut, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Streets and block eleven of Brooks and Co.'s Addition was donated by Thomas K. Brooks and Wilson A. Scott. In accordance with the contemplated extension of the State capitol grounds provision was made by the legislature in 1913 to sell Governor's Square.—*Proceedings of the Pioneer Lawmakers' Association of Iowa*, 1902, pp. 78, 79; *Laws of Iowa*, 1913, p. 17.

⁵⁷ Accounts differ as to the exact personnel of the Association but practically agree on those mentioned.—*Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. IV, p. 111; *Proceedings of the Pioneer Lawmakers' Association of Iowa*, 1902, p. 77; *Laws of Iowa*, 1864, p. 106.

⁵⁸ *Proceedings of the Pioneer Lawmakers' Association of Iowa*, 1902, p. 77; *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. IV, p. 111; *Daily Evening Reporter* (Iowa City),

There was indeed some agitation in the Sixth General Assembly (1856-1857) for the repeal of the act of 1855 locating the capital at Des Moines. A petition to that effect was presented in the House of Representatives, while a public meeting at Washington, Iowa, sent to the State Senate the following resolution:

WHEREAS, a proposition is now submitted, or is about to be submitted to the present General Assembly of the State of Iowa, to repeal the law passed by the 5th General Assembly, entitled "an act to relocate the seat of Government," therefore,

RESOLVED That our Senator and Representatives in the present General Assembly be instructed to vote for, and favor in every legitimate way, a law having that object in view.⁵⁹

Such an act was introduced in the House of Representatives on January 12, 1857, but it was tabled on the following day. The whole agitation for repeal seems to have arisen from a misunderstanding of conditions in regard to the land and buildings at Des Moines, many people becoming greatly excited when they learned that the temporary capitol build-

September 12, October 8, 1856; *The Washington Press*, October 8, 1856; *Iowa City Republican*, June 5, 1856.

A contemporary account describes the Old Brick Capitol as follows:

"It is situated on a fine eminence on the east side of the Desmoines River, overlooking the entire city. It is composed of brick, with the sills of the windows and foundations made of cut stone. The dimensions of the Capitol are one hundred feet long, and fifty-six feet wide. The first story is eleven feet between floor and ceiling; the second is eleven and a half; the third is eighteen feet. The Senate Chamber is fifty-six long, and thirty-four wide. The Representative Hall is fifty-six feet long, by fifty wide. The Supreme Court Room is fifty feet long by twenty-four wide. The State Library Room is thirty-four by twenty-four, and the State Office Rooms, each, are twenty-four by twenty-three feet. The building is roofed with tin, and the style of Architecture is Ionic. The entire height of the Dome is eighty-five feet. A bell has been contracted for, weighing fifteen hundred pounds. There is also a fire vault, the dimensions of which are nine feet by eleven. The Building fronts the Public Square on the north, and the city on the west, and will be completed by the 1st. of May, 1857."—*The Washington Press*, March 25, 1857.

⁵⁹ *Senate Journal*, 1856-1857, p. 316; *House Journal*, 1856-1857, pp. 289, 290; *The Washington Press*, January 14, 1857.

ing was being erected by private funds on private ground and was not to be owned by the State.⁶⁰ For a time it was thought that the repeal would carry, but the building committee explained that a lease had been executed whereby the State would have free use of the building for any number of years. This explanation seemed to satisfy the critics.⁶¹

The question of the permanent location of the capital came before the constitutional convention of 1857 in connection with the location of the State University. During the second week of the convention a resolution was offered to inquire into the expediency of permanently locating the seat of government, the State University, and the asylums for the blind and the deaf and dumb. The location of the University caused the greatest amount of discussion and it was largely in that connection that the capital was mentioned. The inclusion in the new Constitution of the compromise of 1847, whereby the State University was to be located at Iowa City whenever the capital should be removed was persistently insisted upon, in spite of proposals to establish the

⁶⁰ As a matter of fact the erection of the Old Brick Capitol was financed mainly with money borrowed from the school fund. When, on account of divided public sentiment in Des Moines in regard to the site the local pledge to provide a suitable building without cost to the State was not fulfilled by the community, members of the Capitol Building Association found themselves unable to meet their financial obligations. The Seventh General Assembly was, therefore, petitioned to purchase the building. Not until 1864, however, did the State pay for the Old Brick Capitol, redeem the diverted school fund, and relieve the men who had undertaken to provide the temporary capitol.—Brigham's *History of Des Moines and Polk County, Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 149; *Senate Journal*, 1858, p. 241; *Laws of Iowa*, 1864, pp. 106-109.

⁶¹ *House Journal*, 1856-1857, pp. 255, 256, 273; *Senate Journal*, 1856-1857, pp. 202, 235; *The Washington Press*, January 28, February 4, 1857. The Sixth General Assembly still refused to transfer the public buildings at Iowa City to the State University, in spite of the prospect of the succeeding legislative session being held in Des Moines.—*House Journal*, 1856-1857, p. 215.

A resolution to inquire into the expediency of locating the State University, the capital, and the asylums for the blind and the deaf and dumb on the five sections selected for Monroe City was entertained in the Senate, but was immediately tabled.—*Senate Journal*, 1856-1857, p. 408.

University at the former site of Monroe City, to leave the matter to a vote of the people, or to rest the decision with the legislature. It was objected that such clauses would overload the Constitution with affairs of local interest. But the judgment of those who wished permanently to settle the question finally prevailed, and the convention incorporated in the Constitution of 1857 the following section: "The seat of Government is hereby permanently established, as now fixed by law, at the City of Des Moines, in the County of Polk; and the State University at Iowa City, in the County of Johnson."⁶²

In order to validify the acts of State officers and to fulfill his duty prescribed by the act of 1855 re-locating the seat of government, Governor James W. Grimes on October 19, 1857, officially declared "the Capital of the State of Iowa to be established under the constitution and laws of the State at Des Moines in Polk County".⁶³ Although the new capitol building at Des Moines was still unfinished, the State officers had begun packing and moving the contents of their several offices by the first of October. Snow flew before the task was completed. The following description from the pen of a contemporary is illustrative of the difficulties encountered in removing the records and other necessary equipment of the various State offices from Iowa City to Des Moines:

The removal of the state offices and the archives belonging to the state was a matter of no ordinary undertaking. There were no rail-

⁶² *Debates of the Constitutional Convention of 1857*, Vol. I, p. 88; Vol. II, pp. 648, 770, 771, 801, 811, 824, 838-841, 877, 922-934, 1017, 1092; *Constitution of Iowa*, Art. XI, Sec. 8.

⁶³ In spite of the seemingly irrevocable action of the General Assembly, the constitutional convention, and the Governor, there were nevertheless some resolutions introduced in the House of Representatives during the session of the Seventh General Assembly to remove the capital from Des Moines to Marshall, in Marshall County. A bill was even introduced providing for the re-location of the seat of government, but it was declared to be unconstitutional by the committee on the judiciary.—*House Journal*, 1858, pp. 566, 578, 708.

roads in the state, and the public highways were but dimly outlined in our wide extended prairies. Skunk river had to be crossed to reach Des Moines. This stream had a bad reputation that extended from Maine to California as to its habit of spreading itself. Several of the small streams had no bridges. Therefore, teamsters and contractors were not anxious to undertake the job of removal. The citizens and teamsters of Des Moines, however, solved the problem by sending men and teams from Des Moines to assist in the removal. Among the men sent was the Rev. Ezra Rathburn one of Des Moines' pioneer ministers.

The removal of the four safes, consisting of one each for the secretary of state, the treasurer of state, the auditor of state, and the superintendent of public instruction, was let to Dr. Jesse Bowen of Iowa City, who delivered them safely in the new capitol after many days of hard and tedious work. The state treasurer's safe was much the largest and very heavy. During the journey it was left in the open prairie near Little Four Mile creek in Polk county for several days and nights, until the storm abated and the ground was frozen sufficient so that it could be hauled on a large bob-sled. When it arrived in Des Moines it was drawn by ten yoke of oxen. Its arrival was hailed with great delight, not only by the citizens of Des Moines, but by the state officers and their deputies, for in it was the gold and silver coin that was to pay them their last month's salary.⁶⁴

Almost twenty years elapsed from the time when Iowa was organized as a Territory until the capital of the State was permanently located at Des Moines. During that period there were seventeen sessions of the General Assembly. Although Des Moines has been the seat of government of Iowa for fifty-eight years it is only within the last thirty-two years that a permanent capitol building has been afforded by the State. From the time when the Old Brick Capitol became the home of the government, in October, 1857, it continued to house the State offices and the General Assembly for twenty-six years, witnessing sixteen sessions of the legislature.

⁶⁴ Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, p. 110; *The Washington Press*, November 4, 1857; *Proceedings of the Pioneer Lawmakers' Association of Iowa*, 1902, pp. 79, 80.

In 1909 a commission was appointed to locate and erect a memorial to the memory of William B. Allison. In the work of this commission the movement for the expansion of the capitol grounds had its inception, although the improvement of the grounds has been urged by every Governor since 1900. Now it appears that Iowa is to surround its capitol by improvements that will do honor to the chief edifice of the Commonwealth.

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THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA
IOWA CITY IOWA

CAPTIVITY OF A PARTY OF FRENCHMEN AMONG INDIANS IN THE IOWA COUNTRY, 1728-1729

[For fifteen years the Fox Indians, dwelling upon the Fox River in eastern Wisconsin, had been spreading terror among French traders and missionaries and all the tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley. To the few Frenchmen and their numerous Indian allies in this region life meant one continuous round of turmoil and fear of the Fox hatchet. The main French avenue of travel to the Mississippi River peoples, the Fox-Wisconsin waterway through the heart of the Fox country, became deserted and the business in furs and skins was practically ruined.

Then, in the year 1727, two crushing defeats were administered to the Foxes. The clouds of war seemed at last to be clearing away, but it was not long before the French heard rumors of Fox intrigues with the unsubjected Sioux Indians of the southern Minnesota region. It was to prevent an alliance between these tribes that the Governor-General of Canada (New France) permitted a trading company to set up Fort Beauharnois in the Sioux country and despatched René Boucher, Sieur de la Perriere, as commandant, and with him Fathers Michel Guignas and Nicolas de Gonnor. The new post was accordingly constructed on the western shore of Lake Pepin in the autumn of the year 1727 by a party of Frenchmen. One year later the fort was almost completely evacuated.

What happened must be told in the words of the commandant's nephew, a French ensign, Pierre Boucher, Sieur de Boucherville, the following translation of whose narrative, with footnotes by the present writer, is reprinted from the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVII, pp. 36-56.—JACOB VAN DER ZEE.]

After the failure of the expedition against the Renards,¹ Monsieur De Ligneris sent seven Frenchmen and two *Folles-avoines* to inform me of all that had happened in order that I might take proper measures for our safety, and that I might induce the Scioux to refuse their protection to the Renards.

On September 9, 1728, two days after the arrival of the seven Frenchmen, I sent six of our people to conduct to the

¹ The French name for the Fox or Musquakie Indians, a remnant of whom now live in Tama County, Iowa, and in Oklahoma.

Scioux at *Sault St. Antoine*² two Folles-avoines who had acted as guides to Monsieur De Ligneri's envoys, and who were commissioned on behalf of all the savages living below to exhort the Scioux to take sides against the Renards, or at least to refuse them an asylum in their country.

These envoys returned to the Fort some days afterwards, rather dissatisfied with the result of their negotiations. After accepting their presents and amusing them with fine promises, the Scioux soon let them see that they had *renard* hearts. Nevertheless Ouacautapé accompanied them on their return, and assured me that the Renards would never secure a refuge amongst the Scioux.

But, seeing that it would be unwise to confide in these inconstant tribes, I gathered all our French together on September 18, in order to come to a final decision. All were of opinion that the post was no longer tenable; that the remaining provisions would not suffice for our subsistence until the arrival of the convoys; that the fugitive Renards would employ their usual stratagems to seduce our allies, and that—to comply with the order of Monsieur De Ligneris who forbade us to expose ourselves ill-advisedly by keeping so unsafe a post—it was better to depart at once and to take advantage of our enemies' difficulties. After coming to this decision, all withdrew and each one made his preparations for the departure.

On the following day several told me that they had changed their minds and would be unable to sell their goods elsewhere. In vain I represented to them that the king's service and the welfare of the colony should prevail over private interests; their minds were made up and I was compelled to leave without them.

We took three canoes and started on October 3, to the number of twelve amongst whom were the Reverend Father

² Falls of St. Anthony at the present city of Minneapolis.

Guignos and the Messieurs Monbrun.³ Although the waters of the Mississippi were low, we deemed it advisable to attempt that route in order to reach the *Illinois* country and proceed thence to Montreal.⁴

Hardly had we arrived opposite the *Ouisconsin* than we discovered traces of a party of *Renards*; and after three days' journey, we found their canoes, which they had left at the river of the *Ayous* in order to penetrate more easily into the depths of the surrounding country.

On October 12, somewhere near the river of the *Kikapous*,⁵ we found other camping places, traces of men, women, and children; and on the fifteenth, we saw a number of animals running along the shore who seemed to be flying from hunters. Great fires that were lighted and the noise of some gun-shots led me to believe that the enemy was not far off. For greater safety I deemed it expedient to travel at night; but, as the waters were very low, our birch-bark canoes were in danger of being broken at any moment.

On the 16th, at eight o'clock in the morning some *Kikapous* discovered us and, leaving their pirogues, they ran to the village situated on a small river three leagues from the Mississippi. As we approached the mouth of this little river⁶ we saw a number of savages coming by land and in

³ Jean Baptiste Boucher de Montbrun and François Boucher de Montbrun were brothers. They seem to have been the leaders in the trading enterprise which they were now leaving.

⁴ The party proposed to descend the Mississippi to the Illinois River, and from thence overland to the Ohio River, and on to Detroit and Montreal.

⁵ The river of the Ayous Indians (so called perhaps because the Ioways then dwelt upon its banks) is believed to be the Wapsipinicon River in Iowa. The Rock River in Illinois was also called the Kickapoo because the Kickapoos had a large village upon its banks.

⁶ The editor of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin makes the following statement:

“There seems to be no basis for the identification of this ‘little river,’ other than that it was known as ‘Rivière aux Boeufs’ and was three days below Rock River. Possibly it was the present Skunk River in Iowa, just above the Des

canoes with the apparent intention of barring our way. We at once loaded our twenty-five guns, resolved to defend ourselves stoutly. They called out to us from afar: "What fear ye, my brothers? The Renards are far from here. We are Kikapous and *Mascoutins*⁷ and have no evil design." I sent two Frenchmen and the interpreter to whom they said that their village was only three leagues from where we were; that they were in want of everything; that they would be glad to have us stay a day or two with them and to trade with us. But seeing that in spite of their fine promises we were making ready to proceed on our way, they surrounded us with their twenty-five pirogues, calling out as loud as they could: "Frenchmen, do not resist; we have no evil design in stopping you." At the same time numbers of them embarked in our canoes although the chiefs cried out: "Gently, young men." They dragged us to their village where we thought the greatest favor we could expect would be to be plundered. Far, however, from taking away our

Moines. In the official report of the expedition of 1734, the Fox fort on the Wapsipinicon River is said to be not far from where De Boucherville and Guignas were captured. Ferland, *Cours d'Histoire du Canada* (Quebec, 1865), ii, p. 141, identifies this 'Riviere aux Boeufs' with Buffalo Creek, Jones County, Iowa. This could not have been the spot where the French were arrested, since Buffalo Creek does not reach the Mississippi River."

Readers of Iowa history may feel sure that all opinions as well as the internal evidence of the document itself favor the Iowa shore of the Mississippi as the place where the incidents of the story were enacted. The present writer is inclined to believe that if the "little river" was also called Rivière aux Boeufs, it was probably the Iowa River which went by the name of Bison or Buffalo River. See the first map made of the Iowa country after it was opened to settlement in Lea's *Notes on Wisconsin Territory*, and p. 28.

⁷ The Kickapoos and the Mascoutins had been allies of the Fox Indians for some time and were now being hunted by the French. Indeed, they had forsaken their village upon the Rock River and had placed the Mississippi between themselves and the French because they saw the Foxes almost exterminated and feared a like fate for themselves. The former tribe numbered about two hundred persons and the latter about one hundred and fifty. In 1736 the numbers of their warriors were estimated at 80 and 60, respectively. See *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. IX, p. 1055.

The Mascoutins have left their name upon the map of Iowa as "Muscatine".

arms, they requested us on our arrival to salute the fort with a discharge of musketry which we did with fairly good grace. Afterwards they held a council and came to the conclusion to lodge us in the cabin of Ouiskouba whose relatives had just been killed by the French acting with the Illinois. All our baggage was carried into this cabin; Father Guignas was placed upon a mat and upon a very fine bear skin;⁸ an equally honorable place was prepared for me opposite the Reverend Father; we were regaled with deer flesh. We had no lack of company throughout the night as a great many of these barbarians had never seen a Frenchman and were attracted by curiosity. Ouiskouba and several chiefs who were hunting in the neighborhood were sent for.

On the following day the elders entered our cabins and spoke to Father Guignos as follows: "You *Black gowns*⁹ used formerly to maintain peace amongst the nations; but now you are greatly changed. Not long ago one of your comrades was seen leading a party and waging a bloody war against us." These elders referred to Father Dumas, the chaplain of Monsieur Desliettes' army.

Father Guignos replied, "You know not the Black gowns; it is not their custom to fight and to steep their hands in blood. They follow the army solely for the purpose of helping the sick and ministering to the dying."

The dispute would have lasted longer had not the young men — wiser in this than the elders — imposed silence on them. "Be silent, old babblers," they said to them: "Are not the French sufficiently in trouble and is it proper for you to add affliction to affliction?" These words put a stop to the invectives for a while; but as soon as Father Guignos began to read his breviary, the rubrics printed in red ink caused a fresh quarrel about nothing to break out. "Those

⁸ The Indian's way of showing honor.

⁹ "This was the Indian appellation for the Jesuit missionaries, who wore their black cassocks into the wilderness."

drops of blood," they said to one another, "warn us to be on our guard against this dangerous man." To appease those suspicious minds, the Father closed his book for some days and we had an interval of peace.

Seven days after this first upbraiding, a chief delivered a harangue in favor of the Father and said: "Of what are you thinking, my brothers, and why should you forbid the Black gown from saying his accustomed prayers? Know you not that amongst all the nations these Fathers have full liberty to pray in their own manner?" This speech was applauded and the Father obtained permission to read his red-lettered book in public.

On the same day, Ouiskouba returned from hunting and spoke to us as follows: "My father the Black gown, and thou my father, the French chief, I have just learned that you have been put in my cabin and that I have been declared the arbiter of your fate to repay me for the loss of my wife and children whom the French, acting with the Illinois, have just taken from me. Fear not; my heart is good. Our father Ononthio,¹⁰ whom I saw two years ago, gave me wisdom. His arm governs my thoughts and my actions. Rely on my word and no harm will come to you."

We thanked him and presented him with a brasse¹¹ of tobacco; and we promised that all the good he would do us would be repaid a hundred fold.

The *White robe*, a famous orator, paid me a visit the following day. "Thy face," I said to him, "is not unknown to me. Did I not see thee at Detroit in Monsieur De Lamotte's time? Thou wert then considered a wise man and I am delighted to see thee." The savage was charmed with my

¹⁰ "The Indian title for the governor of Canada, later extended to all governors, and also to the King. This savage had evidently been down to Montreal on one of the yearly expeditions."

¹¹ A brasse of tobacco was equal to a little over five feet of tobacco "twisted into a sort of rope".

compliment and the tobacco I gave him and expressed his regret at our detention; he advised me *to be wise*, that is to say to get myself cleverly out of the difficulty by giving presents to the young men.

Chaouénon, a man of credit and respected above all by the young Kikapous, was also profuse in his offers to serve me, and I won him to my interest by great promises. Everything being thus prepared and the chiefs being all gathered together in the village, I caused the council to be assembled.

Word of Monsieur De Boucherville accompanied by 4 barrels of powder, 2 guns, a 30 pound kettle, 7 pounds of vermilion, 12 hatchets, 2 dozen large knives, 7 braided coats, 2 cloth blankets, 2 white blankets, 7 bags of shot, etc., etc.

“My brothers, children of Ononthio. I learned from six Frenchmen and two Folles-avoines that the French and their allies had driven the Renards from their country to punish them for having deluged the earth with blood, and having last spring reddened the waters of the Mississippi with the blood of many Frenchmen. Perfidious people that they are, when we passed through their land a year ago, they promised us to remain quiet and atone for the past. We declared to them that they had everything to hope from the clemency of their new father Ononthio; and that we, on our part, would strive to pacify the land and urge the Scioux to peace. I have kept my word and stopped several bands of *Sauteaux* and of Scioux who breathed naught but war. I left my fort to inform our father Ononthio of all this and to learn his intentions. That is the object of my journey. Today I ask you by these presents that my road may be clear. I would be very sorry to leave you without relieving your wants by sharing our goods with you. I have reason to fear the Renard; I know he is not far from here. He would cause trouble to you and to us likewise were he to take into his head to come to this village. I therefore beg

you, Kikapous and Mascoutins, not to refuse me so reasonable a request."

Their reply was that our presents would be set apart, and that they would give me their answer by the following day.

In fact, a great meeting was held on the morrow. Reverend Father Guignas, myself and some Frenchmen were invited. On a white beaver robe was placed a slave,¹² seven or eight years old, who was offered to us with a little dried beaver flesh.

WORD OF THE KIKAPOUS

"To our father Ononthio we offer this word, this little slave, and this small quantity of beaver flesh, to beg him not to be displeased with us if we keep the French chief, the black gown and their companions. After the flight of the Renards, the burning of their cabins, and the ravaging of their fields, we were warned to withdraw to the banks of the Mississippi because our father Ononthio is angry with us, and because all the nations that winter in our neighborhood will soon fall upon us. It is therefore for the purpose of saving our children's lives that we stop you; you will be our safeguard.¹³

"You say that you fear the Renards! Well, my brothers, what have you to fear? The Renards are far from here; you will not see them. Even should they come to seek you, do you think they could succeed? Look at these warriors and at these brave young men who surround you; all promise to die with you and their bodies will serve you as ramparts. Prepare yourselves therefore to spend the winter with us and begin to build cabins for your use."

"Have you pondered well," I replied, "on what I repre-

¹² When Joliet and Marquette visited the Illinois Indians upon the Iowa River in 1673, they were presented with a young slave, that is, a captive taken in war with some other tribe.

¹³ The Frenchmen were therefore detained as hostages to ensure the safety of the Kickapoos.

sented to you yesterday. Do you realize that you will have to answer for us, body for body, and that if any accident should befall us you will be held accountable?"

"We know it, we think of it," they answered; "We have come to our decision after mature deliberation."

It was therefore necessary to attack the forest with our axes, and with the assistance of the young Kikapous we finished our houses in a week. We were already beginning to settle down; we had no further quarrels to endure; we were living on good terms. But, on November 2, a Kikapou informed me that ten Renards had arrived in the village. A moment afterwards Kansekoé, the chief of these new comers, entered my house, held out his hand to me and said: "I greet thee, my father," and the better to deceive me he assured me that he had an order to lodge in my dwelling. I put a good face on the matter in spite of my surprise; and offered food to my treacherous visitor. Our faithful Chaouénon told me that Kansakoé was endeavoring to seduce the Kikapous by means of presents. But fortunately I had already won the young men by a barrel of powder, 2 blankets, 2 pounds of vermilion, and other presents.

The Kikapous, after refusing the calumet and porcelain¹⁴ of the Renards, were nevertheless intimidated by their threats and urged me to help them by presents to cover the last Renards who had died.¹⁵ I gave them two braided

¹⁴ The calumet or pipe of peace was used by all Indian tribes and was made from the red pipestone found only in southwestern Minnesota, a region regarded by all Indians as sacred ground. A refusal to smoke the pipe was always interpreted as a declaration of war.

Porcelain is "the Canadian term for the wampum belts, which were used as a pledge of an alliance."

¹⁵ The Indian custom of "appeasing the wrath of the relatives of a murdered man by presents. Compare the 'wergeld' of the early Germans."

For a "memorandum of the Goods which Monsieur de Boucherville Was obliged to give for the King's Service from the time of his detention Amongst the Quikapoux on October 12, 1728, Until his return to Detroit in the month of June of The year 1729", estimated to be worth 1431 livres wholesale, see *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVII, pp. 83-86.

coats, two cloth blankets, 50 pounds of powder, 50 pounds of lead, two pounds of vermilion, etc.

On the following day, a great council was held at which I was present with Father Guignas; this gave me an opportunity of preparing a present to be sent to the Renards in my own name.

Word of the Kikapous and Mascoutins by a barrel of 5 pounds of powder, 5 pounds of lead, 2 pounds of vermilion, 2 braided coats and a blanket.

"My brothers, for a long while we have not seen the sun—¹⁶

"Fear nothing," I said to them, "my cousins¹⁷ will do you justice and will appreciate the services you have rendered us." This promise reassured them and they resolved to save us at all costs. "For if they perish we are dead men," they said to one another; "and since we are too much exposed here to the attacks of the Renards, let us go and establish ourselves on the neighboring island¹⁸ on which they will not be able to land unless we choose." This was a very wise decision. By means of presents I urged the young Kikapous to shift the camp as quickly as possible; and as soon as we were settled on the island couriers were sent out to notify the Kikapous scattered in the woods.

About that time we were informed of the barbarous de-

¹⁶ Two pages are missing here from the original manuscript.

¹⁷ "The hiatus apparently contained an account of the escape of the brothers Montbrun, who were cousins of de Boucherville; and of the subsequent fear of the Kickapoo." Father Guignas afterward wrote that the escape of the brothers and another Frenchman "prevented the Maskoutins and Quicapoux from delivering the French of whom they were masters into the hands of the Renards, and led them to give them kind treatment, in a manner which Reverend father Guignoss and the French who remained with him did not in the least expect."—*Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVII, p. 60.

¹⁸ This island in the river must have been small or the Kickapoos could not have prevented the Foxes from landing. There are many small islands at the mouths of the rivers of eastern Iowa, as also in the Mississippi.

sign of Pechicamengoa, a Kikapou chief, a great warrior, redoubtable through the credit he had gained, and the great number of his brothers and relatives, and of young Kikapous subject to his orders. As he had married a Renard wife, Kansekoé and his companions had no difficulty in inducing him to assassinate Reverend Father Guignas, and they made him promise that he would not go to the village of the Renards without bringing the father's scalp with him.

In order that he might not fail in striking his blow, he concealed his wicked design for some days. One fine night he invited two of his young men to keep him company in a sweating lodge, not so much for the purpose of sweating as of cleverly allowing his secret to ooze out according to the custom of the savages in those sweating lodges, and of inducing those young men to help him. God did not permit the treacherous plotter to succeed. The sweating over, the young Kikapous, who were indignant at such treachery told the well-disposed chiefs of it.

The alarm caused in the village by this conspiracy may be imagined. "What!" they exclaimed, "We thought we had only the Renards to fear; now our own brothers betray us and wish to stain our mats with blood by a massacre of the French! What is to be done under the circumstances? Had a Renard made an attempt on the father's life we would have settled the matter by breaking his head; but the guilty man is a chief of our nation! . . . Let us endeavor to appease him with presents." These were offered him; he accepted them, and promised to abandon his cowardly design.

But, in order to avoid similar acts of treachery, we were lodged in less suspected cabins where ten men watched night and day over our safety. We remained eighteen days in that state.

Kansekoé and his nine colleagues, three days after their

departure, encountered a hundred Renards who were coming for us. They had orders, in the event of a refusal, to threaten the Kikapous with the coming of six hundred warriors, both Renards and Puants,¹⁹ fully resolved to be revenged for the insults offered them. Kansekoé perceived in the band the father of the young Renard whom the French had killed at la Baye not long before. He said to him: "I see well, my father, that thou wilt ask for a Frenchman in the place of thy son; but return with us to the village; come and listen to the words addressed to thy dead child, and refuse not the presents offered thee." The old man, touched by this mark of distinction, allowed himself to be won over. "I am quite willing," he said, "that you should restore my disturbed mind. I will follow you." Many thought as he did; others said they must continue their march and compel the Kikapous to deliver up the French. Finally, after many disputes, seventy Renards returned home and thirty came to the banks of the Mississippi. When the Kikapous saw them in such small numbers they considered that they could without danger allow them on the island; but they reinforced the guard watching over our safety. On entering the village, a Renard was inspired with the idea of delivering a harangue, contrary to the custom of the savages who harangue only in cabins. This insolent man spoke to us as follows:

"We are unfortunate, my brothers; we have been driven from our lands by the French. The sorrow caused us by our misfortunes has brought us here to beg you to wipe away our tears. You are our relatives; refuse us not the favor we ask. You will give us as many Frenchmen as you choose; we do not demand all of them."

They entered the cabin of our friend Chaouénon, being convinced that if they could win him over they would easily

¹⁹ The Puants were Winnebagoes.

persuade the other chiefs. All being assembled, the Renards began to weep for their dead, making the air resound with their cries, and spreading out a bloody robe, a shell all reddened with blood, and a red calumet with feathers all dripping blood. Such a dreadful spectacle was calculated to produce an impression, and all this blood called most eloquently for ours. A tall young renard warrior, much painted, arose, lit his calumet and presented it to Chaouénon, to *Boeuf noir* (Black Bull) and to the young chiefs who barely deigned to touch it with the tip of their lips, and drew but a puff or two. The old chiefs smoked heartily and emptied the renard's calumet to show that their sentiments were in accord with his. The young Renard took back his calumet, and presented it once more to the young chiefs with as little success as at first. Finally after again weeping for their dead, they left their presents and were told that the answer would be given on the following day. The young Kikapous passed the whole night without sleep. The Renards roamed about unceasingly and tried to intimidate them by great threats, but all in vain.

On the following day, the savages assembled and the Kikapous replied as follows: "My brothers, you are not unaware that we had no evil design in stopping the French. We wish them to live. And what would become of us if they perished while in our hands? Return in peace, accept our present; we will die together rather than give up a single one of these Frenchmen."

The Renards, angered at this reply, arose with fire in their eyes; they threatened vengeance, made up their bundles and crossed the river,²⁰ and having met at a distance of three days' journey from the Renard village a Kikapou and

²⁰ This seems to prove beyond a doubt that the captives were being held on the Iowa side of the Mississippi.

a Mascoutin who were hunting, they massacred them without pity, and carried their scalps home with them.²¹

This murder caused much disturbance amongst the Renards. "We are lost beyond hope," the old men exclaimed. "What, you foolish young men, it is but a slight thing in your eyes to have raised up against us all the nations that have sworn to destroy us; you must likewise massacre our kinsmen! What shall we do to atone for this murder?"

They at once dispatched five men to go and weep for the two dead ones, and to offer themselves as expiatory victims to the bereaved old man who was not far from the renard village. As soon as they appeared before him they spread out a white robe on which two Renards stretched themselves quite naked. "Revenge thyself, my brother," they said to him in this humble posture. "Thy children have been killed but we offer thee our bodies; vent thy rage and thy just indignation upon us." The old man replied: "Our village is informed of your crime; the matter is no longer in my hands; the decision rests with the young Kikapou chiefs." At these words the prostrate Renards arose and returned home.

Two young Kikapous arrived shortly afterwards on the bank of the river, and uttered death-yells²² at night. A pirogue was sent for them and they related the sad event to their comrades. The news spread consternation throughout the village. Nothing was heard everywhere but weeping, lamentations, and horrible yells. Couriers were at once sent to warn the Kikapous scattered in the woods to quickly take refuge on the island. The elders did not fail to come and reproach me with the death of their young men. "You

²¹ After this murder the Kickapoos sent a request to the Sioux and the "Ayowetz" (Ioways) not to give the Foxes shelter in their territory in what is now southern Minnesota and northern Iowa.—See *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVII, pp. 60, 62.

²² To indicate the death of someone.

are the cause of our being massacred," they said, "and we are paying very dearly for the pleasure of having you." I replied to them: "Had you wished to believe me, to accept my present and consent to our separation, this misfortune would not have happened to you. Did I not warn you of this." "Thou art right," they replied, "but what are we to do in the present predicament? We are between two fires; the Renard has killed us, the Illinois has killed us,²³ the Frenchman is angry with us. What are we to do?"

"Your affairs," I answered, "are not so difficult to arrange as you imagine. Give me two chiefs to accompany me; I will start for the Illinois country, and I pledge myself to make your peace with those tribes." "That is a very good idea," they said. But the trouble was to find people brave enough to accompany me. After much discussion a Kikapou and a Mascoutin, born of Illinois mothers, offered themselves. One of them had lost his son in the war.

We started on December 27, notwithstanding the unendurable severity of the season; and, after many hardships, and much fatigue which can be appreciated only by those who endure them, we arrived on the ninth day amongst the Péoaria on the river of the Illinois, twenty leagues from the Mississippi. Several tribes were gathered together in this village, keeping always on the watch and anxious for news of the Kikapous.

Two hunters perceived us and, re-assured at the sight of the flags held up by my people, they approached us. One of my companions spoke the illinois language, told them that we came to treat for peace; that the French detained amongst his people were well; that the Renards, in revenge for the refusal to deliver up the French to them, had killed two Kikapous.

²³ The Kickapoos and the Illinois had been at war since 1718. The latter once roamed over eastern Iowa, but were gradually reduced in numbers owing to Fox ravages. Their permanent villages stood upon the banks of the Illinois River. To them de Boucherville made a journey overland on foot.

As soon as the Péoaria heard of our arrival, they sent thirty young Illinois to meet us. My two savages waited for them, and after weeping for their dead, and having had their tears wiped away, and having been ceremoniously offered a great red calumet which all smoked, we were relieved of our baggage. We were conveyed to a large cabin through so great a crowd of spectators that we could hardly make our way. We were seated upon a fine new mat, and on a bear skin. Two young Illinois, adorned with many ornaments, came to remove our shoes and grease our feet. We were given the most palatable food to be had in the village. The Kikapou accompanying me, who had lost his son, wept for him a second time; all the chiefs arose in turn to wipe away his tears, and after hearing all that had occurred, they said: "Take courage, my brothers, we will help you to avenge your dead."

On the morrow at break of day they came to conduct us to a feast; and throughout the day we went without stopping from cabin to cabin, from feast to feast. These poor people could not find any food good enough for me so pleased were they at the good news I brought.

It was my intention to proceed as soon as possible to the French village²⁴ four days' journey from the Péoarias; but I had to abandon the trip owing to a swollen foot caused by a long march through exceedingly cold water. I therefore sent Reverend Father Guignas's letters by a special messenger. I wrote to Monsieur Desliettes, the commandant, and sent him the presents from the Kikapous. These consisted of that famous bloody calumet, and of the two brasses of bloodstained porcelain which the Renards had offered in order to have us delivered up to them.

Word of the Kikapous and Mascoutins accompanied by the presents above mentioned:

²⁴ This was the village of Kaskaskia, Illinois, founded in 1700.

"1st, Our words and our actions are guided solely by the arm of Ononthio to whom we are attached.

"2nd, We have been killed, my father, by the Renards because we supported the French. If thou wouldst send us some Frenchmen to help us, thou wouldst please us.

"3d, We ask for peace with the Illinois and with thee; and that in future we may smoke from the same calumet.

"4th, We have stripped ourselves by giving what we had to the Renards to appease them. We should be obliged to thee, if thou wouldst send us goods and especially powder.

"5th, We flatter ourselves that our flesh has been preserved; and we beg thee to induce the Illinois to give back to us those of our kin who are slaves in their midst."

Word of Monsieur Desliettes by a red calumet and some ells of cloth.

"1st, I am sorry that the French chief and the member of your nation have not come thus far. They have sent me your Word; I have received it with joy, because you assure me that you are attached to the arm of Ononthio.

"2nd, I smoke your calumet with pleasure. While smoking it I will think of all you say to me; and I shall see by the proofs that you will give me of your sincerity whether I shall send you some Frenchmen.

"3d, You already have some Frenchmen amongst you, and none of your people sit here on my mat. If you wish sincerely, as you say, to live in peace with us, I invite you to bring back here the Black gown and the other Frenchmen. By this I shall know that you are children of Ononthio.

"4th, If you do this, I answer that I will give you Frenchmen who will escort you back; and you will be well received by the Illinois and French.

"5th, I would willingly send you some goods at once but I have only very little; I expect a great quantity in two moons.

"6th, If the Renards have killed you as you assert, you

see that they no longer look upon you as their kin. I exhort you to avenge yourselves. You may rest assured that that wicked nation can live no longer. The King wishes their death.

“7th, When you arrive with the Black gown and the other Frenchmen, we will take measures together; meanwhile we, the Illinois and ourselves, are preparing to avenge ourselves for all their insults to us. They shall not always escape the vengeance of the French by cowardly flight.

“8th, Behold the Frenchmen who start tomorrow to carry your words to Ononthio from the lower Mississippi. I write him that they are sincere. I beg you, Mascoutins and Kikapous, not to make me tell a falsehood.

“9th, You sent me your calumet; I send you mine. While smoking it think of what I say to you.

“10th, When you arrive here with the Frenchmen, I will speak to the Illinois who will give you back your kinsmen whom they have had since last summer; for they have no others from an earlier time.

“11th, Ononthio will not forget what you have done for the Frenchmen, whom you have refused to deliver up to the Renards. Continue to take good care of them; respect the Black gown. When he is here we will not forget the care you have taken of him, of the chief, and of the Frenchmen.”

Our couriers returned on the seventh day from their departure and brought me letters from Monsieur Desliettes, from some officers, and from the Reverend Jesuit Fathers, who advised me not to go back to the Kikapous, where things had perhaps taken a different aspect on our behalf since my departure.

The illinois had already begun to chant their war-song with all their hearts; two hundred young warriors had already prepared their arrows. But Monsieur Desliettes told them to wait until the spring, because it would be unwise to

rely upon the Kikapous, who had so often failed to keep their word.

I was therefore given only two illinois chiefs and eight young men. I was loaded with tobacco and other presents for the Kikapous. We started rather late, and slept at a spot five or six leagues from the village.

At night two couriers brought me a letter from Reverend Father D'Outrelo, a jesuit, who begged me to wait for him as he wished to consult with me on the means to be adopted for saving Father Guignas. I therefore returned to the village to the great satisfaction of the Illinois. I remained there eleven days; but, as our two Kikapous were becoming impatient, I left without waiting for the Reverend Jesuit Father, who had lost his way and arrived in a pitiful condition at the village a few hours after my departure. He sent three couriers after me, who unfortunately took a different road from ours, and caught up with us only when we were 20 leagues from the village. I gave them a letter for the Reverend Father in which I begged him to excuse me if I did not return to the Péoaria, as I was suffering from a pain in one of my thighs; and I told him that the proper way to save Father Guignas and us was to induce the Illinois to come to the Kikapous and conclude a lasting peace. I continued my journey, and we encountered thirty Kikapous who were coming to meet us, and who told me that all was well. As soon as the news of our approach reached the village, joy spread everywhere, and the French who no longer hoped for my return, took courage once more. The chiefs came to meet us and were very attentive to our Illinois, although he was alone, as the nine others had postponed their journey to another time.

On the morrow I gathered the chiefs together and announced to them the words of Monsieur Desliettes and of the Illinois. They seemed to me well pleased. I afterwards

by means of presents induced two war-chiefs to make up two bands of 25 men. The first party, commanded by a chief whose son had been killed not long before, was to go to the winter camping place of the Renards; but he returned at the end of eight days without having done anything.

The other band was commanded by the brother of *Boeuf noir* (Black Bull), who said to him: "Do not return without bringing us some Renards, dead or alive." After marching some days, this band encountered 30 Renards, who asked them who they were and whither they were going.

"We are Kikapous," they answered, "and our elders have sent us to get news of you." The Renards, suspecting nothing, replied: "You are welcome; we will take you to our cabins which are not far from here." The Kikapous stopped first at the dwelling of Pémoussa²⁵ who had married a Kikapou woman. His cabin was about a quarter of a league from the 30 others and there were about 25 persons in it, namely: eight men and several women and children. In order to kill them all, our warriors placed themselves at night one on each side of every Renard capable of defending himself; and their design would infallibly have succeeded if, unfortunately, some other Renards had not come in during the night, which upset all their plans.

The chiefs of the 30 cabins assembled on the following day and said to the Kikapous: "What do your countrymen think of the murder of your people?" "They think," replied our warriors, "that it was a misunderstanding or, at the most, the crime of some individuals; they are careful not to hold the entire Renard nation responsible for that accident." "You are right," answered the Renards, "for the murderer, the son of Renard noir (Black Fox) has fled to escape death with which he was threatened. We are go-

²⁵ Pémoussa was the Fox chief who led his tribe in the first great battle with the French and their allies at Detroit in 1712.

ing to die in our village; we have not found an asylum anywhere; the *Ayous*²⁶ and the Scioux have refused to give us a refuge. We have three bands of warriors in the field; one amongst the *Saulteux*, the two others amongst the *Folle-avoines*, while a fourth will soon go amongst the Illinois. What has become of your Frenchmen?" "They went away on the ice," replied our people, "to go amongst the Illinois." "So much the better," said the chiefs; "nothing remains to be done except to cover your dead. We will send two chiefs to you." Pémoussa and Chichippa, the great war-chief, offered to go and they were entrusted with a calumet and some other presents.

During the second day's march, our two chiefs said to one another: "What! we came to avenge our dead and these Renards who follow us are coming to speak of peace! We must give them food at our first stopping place and fire two gunshots at them." This plan was carried out in all its details and their scalps were taken to the village.

The news of this deed gave rise to many mutterings, cries, and lamentations; because Pémoussa, who had married a Kikapou woman, had a great many relatives or kindred amongst that nation. This led the thirty Illinois who had just arrived to fear that they would be killed to avenge the death of Pémoussa. And yet they had come with presents; they had brought back a Kikapou woman and two children whom they had captured. They left at night and were escorted back; both sides parted good friends and the Kikapous were invited to go, in the Spring, to the Illinois who were well disposed to receive them.

The warriors who had killed Pémoussa re-entered the village on the following day, but very quietly and without ceremony to avoid reviving the sorrow of Pémoussa's relatives.

²⁶ The Ioways numbered only eighty warriors in 1736 and dwelt south of the Minnesota River on friendly terms with the much more numerous Sioux tribes.

On March 1 (1729), the ice disappeared and the Mississippi became navigable to the great satisfaction of all the French who awaited only that moment to withdraw. The Kikapous invited the Father and myself to a great assembly: "Here," said they, "are two roads: one leading to Montreal and the other to the Illinois. Tell us which one we should choose." "You must," said I, "go to the Illinois and conclude a lasting peace with them, so that the Illinois may no longer doubt your sincerity; you must offer them the scalps of the Renards." Our chiefs approved my idea and I was delighted to have contributed towards obtaining so desirable a peace, for the French and Illinois had no more dangerous foes than the Kikapous and Mascoutins, who killed their people up to the very doors of their village.

Reverend Father Guignas left some days before I did, accompanied by two mascoutin chiefs; and he promised to await me on the road. I started on March 7, with two French canoes and seven Kikapou pirogues. On the twelfth we reached the river of the Illinois; and three days afterwards, 80 Illinois pirogues with their families and provisions advanced to meet us. Two young Illinois, adorned with many ornaments, came with their calumets lighted to make the Kikapou chiefs smoke. We were regaled with turkeys and buffalo tongues. A thousand attentions were lavished upon the Kikapous as soon as they had presented the scalps of the renards. By this unequivocal sign it was understood that the Kikapous really wished for the peace so greatly desired by the Illinois.

I left on the fifteenth, and journeyed 40 leagues to reach the French fort²⁷ where Monsieur Desliettes and the officers received me courteously. Reverend Father Guignas had arrived seven days before with the two mascoutin chiefs, to

²⁷ Kaskaskia, in southern Illinois, where the French now had two small settlements.

whom Monsieur Desliettes gave presents to induce them to maintain peace and union.

A detachment of 20 Frenchmen was told off under an officer to escort the Kikapous and Mascoutins to their village.

It is estimated that there are about 200 men amongst the Kikapous and 600 men in the three illinois villages. There are two French settlements of very considerable size, containing nearly 200 French some of whom are married to Illinois women and others to French women from New Orleans. They sell flour and pork on the sea coast, and bring back goods from there.

Eight days after my arrival, I started for Canada by way of the *Ouabache*; ²⁸ but, after proceeding 20 leagues always against the current which is very rapid, the hands of our men became so badly blistered that we were compelled to return to *Kaskaskias*. In going down we went over in one day the distance that it had taken us eight days to pass over while ascending. Reverend Father Boulanger, the missionary among the *Mixik-Illinois*, told me that ten of his people were going by land to the *Oüyas* [Ouiatonons]. I decided to follow them and promised to pay them well if they took good care of me.

I started from the Illinois country on May 2, with a young Kikapou, a nephew of the great chief, and a little slave for Monsieur the governor-general of Canada.

The distance from the Illinois to the *Pêanguichias* is about 120 leagues and 15 leagues from the *Pêanguichias* to the *Oüyas*; 60 leagues from the *Oüyas* to the *Miamis*; 120 leagues from the *Miamis* to Detroit; and 300 leagues from Detroit to Montreal; making 615 leagues in all.

²⁸ The Ohio River.

SOME PUBLICATIONS

The Story of the Indian. By GEORGE BIRD GRINNELL. New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1914. Pp. x, 270. Portraits, plates. This volume appears in *The Story of the West Series*, edited by Ripley Hitchcock, the purpose of which is to present to the public the history of that part of the United States beyond the Missouri River and until recently known simply as the West, with a present and a future but without a past. In *The Story of the Indian*, Mr. Grinnell has given a picture of Indian life as it was when the white men first began to take possession of the plains, with an occasional reference to the past seen dimly through the mist of tradition and sometimes a comparison with the present.

The book contains an editor's note, author's introduction, chapters dealing with the life of the Indians, their homes, recreations, social customs, manner of warfare, industries, and religious beliefs, an appendix containing brief characterizations of the most important family stocks, and a short index. While there is, perhaps, little that is new in the material presented, the style is so vivid and the insight into Indian life is so keen that the reader may well imagine that he is looking out over the village and hearing the voices of the Indians, the barking of the dogs and the shrill whoops of the boys playing among the lodges, or that he is watching the buffalo hunt and the groups of Indians gathered about the carcass of the buffalo on the treeless plain from which the hunter and the hunted alike have now vanished.

A History of Travel in America. Four volumes. By SEYMOUR DUNBAR. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co. 1915. Pp. li, 1529. Plates, maps. The field which this pretentious work is intended to cover is further indicated by the sub-title: "Showing the Development of Travel and Transportation from the Crude Methods of the Canoe and the Dog-Sled to the Highly Organized Railway Systems of the Present, Together with a Narrative of the Human Experi-

ences and Changing Social Conditions that Accompanied this Economic Conquest of the Continent." Perhaps the chief criticism of the work is that this claim is not adequately supported by the contents of the volumes. For instance, with the exception of one chapter at the close there is no discussion of the developments during the period since the completion of the first trans-continental railway. Again, very little attention is given to the influence of commerce in determining the routes and means of travel. On the other hand, there are lengthy discussions of topics, such as the relations between the whites and the Indians, which would properly be included in a study of the westward movement, but which as here treated have no vital bearing on the history of travel.

At the same time, the work will prove very useful to students of the subject who do not expect to find in it a thorough treatment. The writer has gathered from widely scattered sources the materials for a story which it is a pleasure to read. Especially interesting are the illustrations, four hundred in number, taken from early publications and in themselves telling the same story as is to be found in the words of the text concerning the routes, the vehicles, and the vicissitudes of travel in this country since the earliest days.

Unfortunately it will be almost impossible to use the volumes for general reference purposes since the index, while apparently made in sufficient detail, is so poorly arranged as to be of practically no assistance to the person seeking the information on any particular point which the work may contain.

Iowa: Its History and its Foremost Citizens. Three volumes. By JOHNSON BRIGHAM. Chicago: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Co. 1915. Pp. (first volume) 725. Portraits, plates. The last two volumes of this set are devoted to biographies of prominent Iowans, which it is presumed were not prepared by Mr. Brigham since his name does not appear on the title pages.

The first volume, which contains the historical material, is divided into three books, ten parts, and forty-five chapters. The discoverers, the Indians, the explorers, and the pioneers are the titles of the four parts of book one. The two parts in book two deal with Iowa as a part of the Louisiana Purchase, and Iowa as a Territory. Book

three, containing the account of Iowa's development as a State, is divided into four parts, namely: the formative period, 1846-1860; the heroic period, 1860-1865; the period of reconstruction in Iowa, 1868-1900; and Iowa in the twentieth century, 1900-1915. Numerous portraits of persons who have played prominent parts in Iowa history and cuts of historic buildings and sites in Iowa add to the interest of the work.

A unique feature of the volume is the inclusion, at proper points in the narrative, of sketches of the lives of the men most prominent in Iowa during the particular period under discussion. Moreover, at the close of the book there are three chapters dealing with the medical profession in Iowa, the bench and bar of Iowa, and the writers of Iowa, prepared by David S. Fairchild, Horace E. Deemer, and Alice French, respectively. Altogether, a perusal of the volume will give the reader a good view of the main events in the history of our Commonwealth.

Grace Gardner Griffin's bibliography of *Writings on American History* for the year 1913 has appeared from the Yale University Press.

An address on *Henry Clay and Pan-Americanism*, by John Bassett Moore, has been reprinted from the *Columbia University Quarterly*.

There has recently come from the Country Life Press a small volume by H. G. S. Noble on *The New York Stock Exchange in the Crisis of 1914*.

A volume containing a brief of facts and opinions relative to *The Nearing Case*, prepared by Lightner Witmer, has been issued from the press of B. W. Huebsch of New York.

Bulletin 57, published by the Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution, consists of *An Introduction to the Study of the Maya Hieroglyphs*, by Sylvanus G. Morley.

Among the articles in *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* for November are: *The Scope of Workmen's Compensation in the*

United States, by Willard C. Fisher; and *Social Insurance, Old Age Pensions and Poor Relief*, by Robert M. Woodbury.

Among many articles and papers in *The Quarterly Journal of the Society of American Indians* for July-September special mention should be made of one by Arthur C. Parker on *The Status and Progress of Indians as Shown by the Thirteenth Census*.

The November number of the *American Labor Legislation Review* is devoted to a survey of unemployment in this country, 1914-1915, and to the operation of the Municipal Lodging House of New York City. The December number contains a *Review of Labor Legislation of 1915*.

Paul Walton Black discusses *The First Step in Community Development* in the September number of *The American City*. Here may also be found an article on *Efficient Budget Making*, by Herbert R. Sands. In the October number *The Improvement of the Davenport River-Front* is described by L. W. Ramsey.

A continuation of the *Letters of a Virginia Cadet at West Point, 1859-1861*, with introduction and notes by Kate Mason Rowland; a discussion of *The Work of the General Education Board in the South*, by Mrs. John D. Hammond; and an article on *Early Methodist Philanthropy*, by C. A. Moore, are three of the contributions in the October number of *The South Atlantic Quarterly*.

The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science for November is devoted to the general topic of *Public Budgets*. The various articles are grouped under four main headings, namely, the budget idea and the national budget, State budgets, public budgets and efficiency in the public budgets, and the development of budgets and budgetary procedure in typical cities.

The Constitutional Doctrines of Justice Harlan are discussed by Floyd B. Clark in a recent number of the *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*. The eight chapters are devoted to the suability of States, the impairment of the obligation of contracts, due process of law, interstate and foreign commerce,

equal protection of the laws, the jurisdiction of courts, miscellaneous topics, and judicial legislation.

Among the formal articles in the *National Municipal Review* for October are the following: *The Crisis in Public Service Regulation in New York*, by Delos F. Wilcox; *Graft Prosecutions: 1914-1915*, by Alice M. Holden; and *New Sources of City Revenue*, by Robert M. Haig. Shorter articles include *The Rapid Increase in Municipal Expenditure*, by Ralph E. George; and *The New York Constitutional Convention*, by Charles A. Beard.

American Colonies and the British Empire, by W. T. Root; and *The Paterson Plan for a Federal Constitution*, by Charles R. Lingley, are two articles in the November number of *The History Teacher's Magazine*. Among the contents of the December number are the following articles: *How the Working Museum of History Works*, by Edward C. Page; *Political Parties and Party Leaders*, by James A. Woodburn; and *Answers in American History*, by Edgar Dawson.

A new quarterly periodical known as the *Smith College Studies in History* made its initial appearance in October under the editorship of John Spencer Bassett and Sidney Bradshaw Fay. It is the purpose of the quarterly "to afford a medium for the publication of short studies in the field of history and government by investigators who have some relation to the college, either as faculty, alumnae, students or friends." The first number is devoted to *An Introduction to the History of Connecticut as a Manufacturing State*, by Grace Pierpont Fuller.

Brigham H. Roberts's *History of the Mormon Church* which has been running in *Americana* for several years, was concluded in the June number. Among the contents of that periodical since June are the following: *Journal of George Croghan, January-February, 1753-4*, contributed by John W. Jordan (July); *Cushing Memorial Monument*, by S. G. Lapham; *Commander Cushing and the Virginian*, by the same writer; and a letter from Ex-Senator J. R. Doolittle of Wisconsin to Grover Cleveland (October); and an article by Charles Caverno, under the heading *Boots, a Bucolic*, discus-

sing the importance of leather to the pioneers throughout the history of the settlement of America (November).

Judicial Control of Administrative and Legislative Acts in France, by James W. Garner; *The Substitution of Rule for Discretion in Public Law*, by Ernst Freund; *The Trend Within the British Empire*, by Theodore H. Boggs; *The Congressional Caucus of Today*, by Wilder H. Haines; and *The Early History of the Tradition of the Constitution*, by Frank I. Schechter, are articles which appear in *The American Political Science Review* for November. The *Legislative Notes and Reviews*, conducted by John A. Lapp, deal with law reform in New York, legislation of 1914 and 1915 affecting nominations and elections, legislative investigations which have been authorized, special municipal corporations, and budgetary laws.

The January-March number of *The Journal of American History* is devoted to the general subject of international coöperation in the western hemisphere. A special feature is an address delivered in 1849 by Charles Sumner on *The War System of the Commonwealth of Nations*. This address is continued in the succeeding issue of the *Journal*, where may also be found the following articles: *New York Manors, Townships, and Patents: A Study of Types of Settlement*, by Joel N. Eno; *An Illinois Merchant of the Eighteenth Century*, by Charles Gilmer Gray; and *What was the Mission of Nathan Hale?*, by William H. Shelton. Among numerous articles in the July-September number may be mentioned *Magna Charta and Democracy in America*, by Ernest C. Moses; and *The Winning of the Illinois Country*, by John Gilmer Gray. Finally, attention should be called to the following contributions in the October-December number: *Spanish Mission Churches of New Mexico*, by L. Bradford Prince; *Chaumiére du Prairie*, by Mrs. Ida W. Harrison; and *The Du Pont Powder Wagon and how it Helped Win Perry's Victory*, by Mabel T. R. Washburn.

WESTERN AMERICANA

The Two Virginias: Genesis of Old and New is the title of a brochure by Granville Davisson Hall of Glencoe, Illinois, which has been privately printed.

Volume thirteen, part three of the *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* consists of a monograph on the *Folklore of the Menomini Indians*, by Alanson Skinner and John V. Satterlee.

Early Intellectual Intercourse Between France and America, by Gilbert Chinard; and *The Pan-American Scientific Congress*, by Glen L. Swiggett, are two articles which appear in the October number of *The University of California Chronicle*.

Two numbers of the *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* which have recently been issued are devoted to monographs on *Peruvian Textiles*, by M. D. C. Crawford; and *Riding Gear of the North American Indians*, by Clark Wissler.

Three articles which, among others, appear in *The Quarterly Journal of the University of North Dakota* for October are the following: *Educational Perspective*, by Joseph Kennedy; *The Evolution of the Idea of God*, by S. F. Halfyard; and *State-wide Use of the University Library*, by Clarence Wesley Sumner.

The First and the Fiftieth: A Contrast in Opening Exercises is the title of an article by Helen Rhoda Hoopes which is to be found in *The Graduate Magazine of the University of Kansas* for October. *The Semi-Centennial of the University of Kansas* is briefly described in the November issue; while in the December number may be found *General Funston's Reminiscences of the University*.

A monograph of five hundred pages on *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century*, by Herbert E. Bolton, constitutes volume three of the *University of California Publications in History*. The study is divided into five parts devoted to a general survey from 1731 to 1788, the San Xavier missions, the reorganization of the lower gulf coast, Spanish activities on the lower Trinity River, and the removal from and the reoccupation of eastern Texas. A number of early maps are interspersed through the volume.

Students of the administration of Indian affairs in the United States will welcome a volume, published by the Office of Indian Af-

fairs at Washington, containing *The Correspondence of James S. Calhoun* while Indian Agent at Santa Fe and Superintendent of Indian Affairs in New Mexico. This correspondence, which covers the period from April, 1849, to May, 1852, is taken mainly from the files of the Indian office, and is edited by Annie Heloise Abel. Four excellent maps are to be found in a pocket on the back cover. Unfortunately the index is very brief and inadequate.

Masters of Men: A Retrospect in Presidential Politics, by Daniel J. Ryan, is a little volume published by McClelland and Company of Columbus, Ohio. There are seven chapters bearing the titles: Ohio in national politics; John Sherman, statesman; preparing for a contest; in Chicago in the heat of June; the victory of the "plumed knight"; the Independent Republican movement; and Blaine in Ohio. Moreover, there are contemporary portraits of James G. Blaine, James A. Garfield, John Sherman, Joseph B. Foraker, William McKinley, Marcus A. Hanna, William H. West, and Carl Schurz.

IOWANA

Leaves from Church History; and *The Relation of Wealth to Life*, by H. August Koehler, are articles in the October number of *Autumn Leaves*, both of which are continued in the November number.

Banking Based on the Community is the title of an address by Jesse C. McNish which appears in *The Northwestern Banker* for November.

The Library and a Changing Iowa is the title of an address by L. L. Dickerson, which is printed in the October-December number of the *Iowa Library Quarterly*.

The October number of *The Grinnell Review* contains a brief biographical sketch of Professor Henry Louis Bullen, under the heading *The Last of the Early Professors of Iowa College*.

A digest of the *New School Laws Enacted by the Last General Assembly*; and *Some Recollections of Educational Work in Iowa*, by

Samuel J. Buck, are published in the November number of *Midland Schools*.

A biographical sketch of the late Emlin McClain, Dean of the College of Law of the State University of Iowa, written by Jacob Van der Zee, appears in the November number of the *Iowa Law Bulletin*. There is also a brief appreciation of *Emlin McClain: A Great Teacher of Law*, by Eugene Wambaugh.

An excellent compilation of *Recent Road Legislation in Iowa*, edited by Henry E. Sampson and Thomas H. MacDonald, was published in September as a supplement to the *Service Bulletin* of the State Highway Commission. Not only is the text of the various laws given, but there are explanations following every section which make the legal language understandable by everyone; and there is a good index.

American Municipalities for October contains, among other things, the *Report of the Committee on State Legislation*, by J. D. Glasgow. *Engineering Coöperation for Small Towns* is discussed by Richard R. Price in the November issue; while in the December number there may be found the *Report of the Committee on Judicial Opinions*, by Ben P. Poor. In all three numbers there are numerous notes on municipal activities in Iowa and surrounding States, and the proceedings of the various leagues of municipalities.

The Iowa Park and Forestry Association has published a *Memorial Volume* of over five hundred pages containing tributes to and addresses by the late John F. Lacey, compiled by L. H. Pammel of Ames. A chronological list of important events in the life of Major Lacey; resolutions of various organizations at the time of his death; brief appreciations by friends and admirers; and numerous addresses by Major Lacey on the subjects of forestry, game protection, and the conservation of natural resources in general occupy most of the volume. The last hundred pages are given over to the proceedings of the Iowa Park and Forestry Association for 1913, and an index to the Lacey memoirs.

Under the guise of a story for young people, entitled *Vera's Visit to Davenport, Antoine Le Claire's Town in the Black Hawk Pur-*

chase, there has been issued from the printshop of Friendly House at Davenport, Iowa, a booklet of thirty-six pages, written by Harry E. Downer, which presents in a very entertaining manner many of the events in the history of Davenport and vicinity. As a frontispiece there is a portrait of Antoine Le Claire, and there are numerous other cuts of historic buildings and scenes in and around Davenport. This is the sort of historical writing which should make a strong appeal to youthful readers, while at the same time it could profitably be read by adults who should know the main facts in the history of their community.

Under the title *Importuning for Redress* there is an article by Heman C. Smith in the October number of the *Journal of History* published at Lamoni, Iowa, by the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, in which is emphasized the desire of the church to proceed through legal means in securing relief from its trouble in Missouri. Among other documents quoted is a letter from Governor Robert Lucas to President Van Buren. *Current Reports and Opinions of Early Days* is the heading given to a number of extracts from Missouri newspapers of 1833 and 1834 dealing with the Mormons. There is also an extended notice of the recently published *History of Decatur County, Iowa, and its People*. The remaining pages are taken up with continuations of autobiographical and biographical material.

International Law and the European War, by Horace M. Towner; *The Lawyer as a Craftsman*, by Charles B. Elliott; *The Lawyer's Relation to Politics*, by William S. Kenyon; *Dismissing Without Prejudice*, by Fred W. Sargent; and *Local Self-government for Cities and Towns*, by F. F. Dawley, are papers and addresses which may be found in the *Proceedings of the Twenty-first Annual Session of the Iowa State Bar Association*, edited by H. C. Horack. There are also brief biographical sketches of the following members of the Association who died during the year 1914-1915: Burton A. Billings, Henry Clay Caldwell, F. A. Charles, John Cliggitt, Edward E. Cook, W. W. Cory, Anthony C. Daly, Madison B. Davis, Frank W. Eichelberger, Homer W. Green, W. Sanford Griffiths,

John D. M. Hamilton, Monroe A. Hoyt, John M. Herron, John T. Illick, Louis H. Jackson, James W. Jamison, Myrtle L. Kennedy, Jed Lake, Robert E. Leach, Sabret T. Marshall, Emlin McClain, William O. McElroy, Smith McPherson, Timothy P. Murphy, Alonzo C. Parker, George M. Pardoe, George H. Phillips, Cyrus S. Ranck, William L. Read, F. W. Reisinger, Lewis A. Reilly, Charles A. Rogers, Gerhardt H. Schulte, W. E. Snelling, Louis F. Springer, Francis M. Taylor, Zadoc W. Thomas, and W. W. Welch.

SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS BY IOWA AUTHORS

Beal, Foster Ellenborough Lascelles,

Food Habits of the Thrushes of the United States. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1915.

Bolton, Frederick Elmer,

Higher Standards of Preparation for Teaching (Education, September, 1915).

Botsford, George Willis,

A Syllabus of Roman History. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1915.

Brigham, Johnson,

Blaine, Conkling and Garfield: A Reminiscence and a Character Study. Des Moines: Prairie Club. 1915.

Brisco, Norris Arthur,

Working Conditions Necessary for Maximum Output (Annals of the American Academy, September, 1915).

Brown, John Franklin,

State Publication of School Books (School and Society, October 2, 1915).

Bryan, William Alanson,

Natural History of Hawaii. New York: G. E. Stechert. 1915.

Butler, Ellis Parker,

Red Head and Whistle Breeches. New York: Bancroft Co. 1915.

Catt, Carrie Chapman,

Woman Suffrage Must Win (Independent, October 11, 1915).

Clark, Dan Elbert,

Historical Activities in the Trans-Mississippi Northwest, 1914-1915 (Mississippi Valley Historical Review, December, 1915).

Clement, Ernest Wilson,

Short History of Japan. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1915.

Cummins, Albert Baird,

Defense and Revenue in the Next Congress (Review of Reviews, November, 1915).

Ficke, Arthur Davison,

Twelve Japanese Painters. Chicago: Seymour, Daughaday & Co. 1915.

Gillin, John Lewis (Joint author),

Outlines of Sociology. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1915.

Goodyear, Lloyd E.,

Principles, Rules, and Definitions for Bookkeeping. Cedar Rapids: Goodyear-Marshall Publishing Co. 1915.

Green, H. H.,

The Recognition of Jesse Badleigh. Decorah, Iowa: Public Opinion Press. 1915.

Gunderson, Julius J.,

Complete Course in Horsemanship. Sheldon, Iowa: Sheldon Sun. 1915.

Horack, H. Claude (Editor),

Proceedings of the Twenty-first Annual Session of the Iowa State Bar Association. Iowa City: Published by the Association. 1915.

Hough, Emerson,

Out of Doors. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1915.

Hueston, Ethel,

Prudence of the Parsonage. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co. 1915.

- Hutchinson, Woods,
Hardening up for the Winter (Good Housekeeping, October, 1915); *Why is a Genius?* (Everybody's, October, 1915).
- Knipe, Mrs. Emilie B., and Knipe, Alden A.,
A Maid of '76. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1915.
- McVey, Frank Le Rond,
What is Education? (School and Society, September 4, 1915).
- Macy, Jesse, and Gannaway, John W.,
Comparative Free Government. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1915.
- Marolf, Louis C.,
Imperishable Elements of Poetry (Dial, September 16, 1915).
- Morley, Margaret Warner,
The Apple Tree Sprite. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 1915.
- Parrish, Randall,
Beyond the Frontier. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 1915.
- Quick, Herbert,
The Brown Mouse. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co. 1915.
- Richardson, Anna Steese,
Girl with Notebook and Pencil (Woman's Home Companion, October, 1915); *Who Closed the Theatre in Your Town?* (McClure's Magazine, October, 1915); *Who Gets Your Dime* (McClure's Magazine, November, 1915).
- Robbins, Edwin Clyde,
Socialism. White Plains, New York: H. W. Wilson Co. 1915.
- Roberts, George Evan,
U. S. A.—Creditor Nation (Everybody's, November, 1915).
- Sabin, Edwin Legrand,
Gold Seekers of '49. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1915.
- Starch, Daniel,
Advertising: Its Principles, Practice, and Technique. Chicago: Scott, Foresman & Co. 1915.
- Steiner, Edward Alfred,
Introducing the American Spirit. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co. 1915.

SOME RECENT HISTORICAL ITEMS IN IOWA NEWSPAPERS

The Des Moines Register and Leader

Cato Sells of Iowa, October 11, 1915.

Allison Memorial Foundation, October 16, 1915.

Pioneers Recall Obscure Crime of Henry Furry in 1884, October 17, 1915.

Reminders of James H. Wilson, October 27, 1915.

Early-day Federal Clerk Recalls Bogus Bill Case, October 24, 1915.

Monument to Iowa Soldiers who Died at Killdeer, October 24, 1915.

Iowa Man — Charles W. Price — Nation's Foremost Life-saver, by Irving N. Brant, October 24, 1915.

History of Iowa Soldiers' Home, October 24, 1915.

Leigh Hunt's Plan for Homes for Iowa Farm Boys, by Irving N. Brant, October 26, 1915.

Sketch of the life of Henry Harrison Rood, October 27, 1915.

Many Baseball Stars Start Careers in Iowa, October 27, 1915.

How Money was Wasted on Military Posts, October 31, 1915.

How an Indian Inspired Oskaloosa to Progress, October 31, 1915.

Sketch of the life of John Clarke, Father of Governor Clarke, November 5, 1915.

Proposed Allison-Henderson Memorial at Dubuque, November 7, 1915.

Bloomfield Woman one of First Iowa Members of Eastern Star, November 7, 1915.

S. F. Prouty Tells Teachers how he got into Walnut Trade, November 7, 1915.

Famous Engineer who Pulled First Northwestern Fast Mail, November 9, 1915.

Memories of Bishop Taylor, November 14, 1915.

Pearl Wizard of West is Iowa Man, November 21, 1915.

Growth of Insurance Business in Iowa, November 25, 1915.

Tribute to Crocker's Brigade, by Edgar R. Harlan, December 5, 1915.

Sketch of the life of Corydon H. Brown, December 19, 1915.

Great Distinction Comes to Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, December 19, 1915.

Passing of the Mulet Law, December 31, 1915.

Two Decades of the Mulet Law, by A. B. Funk, December 31, 1915.

The Burlington Hawk-Eye

Extracts from Mr. Antrobus' History of Des Moines County, October 3, 10, 17, 24, November 7, 14, 1915.

C. E. Hoar, Old Stage Route Agent, October 10, 1915.

Judge Luke Palmer's Address at Old Settlers' Celebration in 1858, October 31, 1915.

Veteran River Man Talks about River, November 14, 1915.

Sketch of the life of Mrs. Anne M. Hebard, November 14, 1915.

The Old Settlers' Banquet in 1858, November 21, 28, 1915.

Sketch of the life of the Rev. Father William Jacoby, November 21, 1915.

History of the Hotels of Burlington, December 5, 1915.

Iowa Pioneer School Houses and Teachers, December 12, 1915.

Winter of 1856-1857 in Iowa, December 19, 1915.

First Settlers Shunned the Prairies, December 19, 1915.

Days of the Pioneers, December 19, 1915.

History of Town of Lawrence, December 26, 1915.

Miscellaneous

Early Experiences of Mrs. Cooper in Dickinson County, in the *Spirit Lake Herald*, September 29, 1915.

Across the Plains to Salt Lake in '57, by William Clark, in the *Ogden Reporter*, September 30, 1915.

Some School History in Spirit Lake, by A. B. Funk, in the *Spirit Lake Beacon*, September 30, 1915.

Early History of Union Township, in the *Eldora Herald*, September 30, 1915.

Proposed Allison-Henderson Memorial Park — Interesting History of Old Shot Tower, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, October 3, 1915.

Sketch of the life of Charles W. Miller, in the *Des Moines Tribune*, October 6, 1915.

Golden Wedding of Mr. and Mrs. Samuel B. Heizer, in the *Mediapolis News*, October 6, 1915.

- Reminiscences of Old Times in Spirit Lake, in the *Spirit Lake Herald*, October 6, 1915.
- Early Coal Fields of Hardin County, in the *Eldora Herald*, October 7, 1915.
- Southern Border of Iowa in 1846, in the *Lineville Tribune*, October 7, 1915.
- Cost of Living in 1869, in the *Waukon Republican*, October 13, 1915.
- Reminiscences of Clayton County, in the *Elkader Register and Argus*, October 14, December 9, 23, 1915.
- Historic Mill on the English River, in the *Wellman Advance*, October 14, 1915.
- Life in Beaver Township, Polk County, in the Early Days, in the *Mitchellville Index*, October 14, 1915.
- History of an Iowa Farm Home in Jefferson County, by Hiram Heaton, in the *Burlington Post*, October 16, 1915.
- Sketch of the life of E. A. Harris, Early Railroad Promoter, in the *Pella Booster*, October 20, 1915.
- Sketch of the life of Irving M. Fisher, Pioneer of Butler County, in the *Nashua Reporter*, October 21, 1915.
- Life and Achievements of Black Hawk, in the *Burlington Gazette*, October 21, 1915.
- Sketch of the life of J. S. Noble, in the *New Market Herald*, October 21, 1915.
- Lincoln Owned a Tama County Farm, in the *Tama Herald*, October 21, 1915.
- History of Early Coal Mining Near Eldora, in the *Eldora Herald*, October 21, 1915.
- Seventy-fifth Birthday of Hon. E. C. Ebersole, in the *Toledo Chronicle*, October 21, 1915.
- Sketch of the life of John McCoy, in the *Churdan Reporter*, October 22, 1915.
- Preserving Local History, in the *Mason City Times*, October 26, 1915.
- Sketch of the life of Col. Henry H. Rood, Secretary of Board of Trustees of Cornell College, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, October 26, 1915.

- Old Marion County, running in the *Knoxville Express*.
- Sketch of the life of Charles T. Granger, in the *Des Moines Capital*, October 27, 1915.
- Sketch of the life of Joseph Treloar, in the *Ogden Reporter*, October 28, 1915.
- Romance in the Naming of Iowa Towns and Cities, in the *Des Moines Capital*, October 30, 1915.
- The Old Des Moines Mail Coach, in the *Burlington Post*, October 30, 1915.
- Eighty Years in Iowa — A. B. Dowell of Vinton, in the *Chariton Leader*, November 4, 1915.
- John P. White tells of Early Days in Appanoose County, in the *Centerville Iowegian*, November 5, 1915.
- John K. Cook, the First Citizen of Sioux City, in the *Sioux City Journal*, November 7, 1915.
- Tacitus Hussey is Honored by Citizens, in the *Des Moines News*, November 9, 1915.
- Early Days of the Rock Island Railroad, in the *Winterset Reporter*, November 10, 1915.
- Sketch of the life of Augustine Cooper, in the *Manchester Press*, November 11, 1915.
- Early Days in Northern Tama County, in the *Traer Star-Clipper*, November 12, 1915.
- Sketch of the life of Mrs. Anne Hebard, Red Oak's Oldest Citizen, in the *Red Oak Express*, November 12, 1915.
- Memories of Prairie Land, by Mrs. Caroline Soule, in the *Ogden Reporter*, November 18, 1915.
- First Shipment of Grain out of Linn County, in the *Lisbon Herald*, November 18, 1915.
- Early Day Bandits of Iowa and Missouri, in the *Farmington Democrat*, November 19, 1915.
- Sketch of the life of Hugh Pope, in the *Knoxville Journal*, November 25, 1915.
- Early History of Dubuque Lead Mines, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, November 28, December 5, 1915.
- Sketch of the life of Thomas Bulman, in the *Waukon Standard*, December 2, 1915.

- W. G. McElrea, Last Iowa Survivor of Sultana Disaster, in the *Knoxville Journal*, December 2, 1915.
- Early History of Eldon, by I. H. Tomlinson, in the *Eldon Forum*, December 2, 1915.
- Early Day Life in Black Hawk County, in the *Waterloo Courier*, December 2, 1915.
- John S. Wolf Tells of Early Railroad-building in Iowa, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, December 4, 1915.
- Iowa: A Marvelous History, in the *Sioux City Journal*, December 5, 1915.
- J. A. Green, Pioneer of Anamosa, has Enviably Record, in the *Anamosa Journal*, December 9, 1915.
- Brigham's New History of Iowa, in the *Clinton Herald*, December 9, 1915.
- How Muscatine Gained its Name, in the *Muscatine Journal*, December 11, 1915.
- When the Union Pacific Reached Cheyenne, in the *Burlington Post*, December 11, 1915.
- Early Settlers Met Hardships, in the *Clinton Herald*, December 16, 1915.
- Christmas in Dubuque During Early Days, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, December 19, 1915.
- Mr. and Mrs. P. M. Musser Celebrate Golden Wedding Anniversary, in the *Davenport Democrat*, December 19, 1915.
- Early History Recalled by Pioneer Algona Girl, by Mrs. Gardner Cowles, in the *Algona Advance*, December 22 and 29, 1915.
- Sketch of the life of Lorenzo A. Barker, Veteran Editor, in the *Sibley Gazette*, December 23, 1915.
- Christmas on the O'Brien Prairies in the Early Seventies, by Mrs. Roma Woods, in the *Paullina Times*, December 23, 1915.
- Early Days in the Mississippi Valley, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, December 26, 1915.
- Sketches of the lives of Mr. and Mrs. Ben Swearingen, Pioneers of Centerville, in the *Centerville Iowegian*, December 28, 1915.
- Sketch of the life of Mrs. B. F. Osborn of Rippey, in the *Perry Advertiser*, December 28, 1915.

Mason City in 1883, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette*, December 28, 1915.

Final Week for the Iowa Saloons — Some Statistics, in the *Waterloo Times-Tribune*, December 28, 1915.

Sketch of the life of Calvin Lippard, Pioneer of Keokuk County, in the *Sigourney Review*, December 29, 1915.

Sketch of the life of Judge W. E. Blake, in the *Keokuk Gate-City*, December 29, 1915.

Recollections of Survivor of Spirit Lake Massacre, in the *Des Moines Capital*, December 29, 1915.

The O'Brien County of Long Ago, in the *Paullina Times*, December 30, 1915.

History of Cerro Gordo County, in the *Mason City Times*, December 30, 1915.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

PUBLICATIONS

Besides continuations the *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute* for October contains an article on *Endecott Lands, Salem, in 1700*, by Sidney Perley.

A bulletin of information containing a description of the *Collections on Labor and Socialism in the Wisconsin State Historical Library* has been issued by the Society.

The September number of *The Wisconsin Archeologist* is devoted to an illustrated account of the archaeology of the region surrounding Lake Wingra, written by Charles E. Brown.

A brief account of the *Life and Military Services of Brevet-Major General Robert S. Foster*, by Charles W. Smith, constitutes volume five, number six of the *Indiana Historical Society Publications*.

In addition to continuations of source material the *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* for December contains an historical sketch of *Dr. Robert Smith's Academy at Pequea, Pennsylvania*, by Jacob N. Beam.

A *Memorial of Colonel Andrew Warner*, prepared by Robert H. Kelby, has been printed as a pamphlet by the New York Historical Society. Colonel Warner was recording secretary of the Society for nearly fifty years.

R. D. W. Connor is the editor of an *Autobiography of Asa Briggs including a Journal of a Trip from North Carolina to New York in 1832*, which appears as a recent number of the *Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission*.

Carrying out one of the functions imposed upon it by law, the Department of History of South Dakota, of which Doane Robinson

is Secretary and superintendent, has prepared and published the *Third Census of the State of South Dakota*.

Volume ten of the seventh series of the *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society* consists of the second volume of the illuminating series of papers and correspondence relative to the *Commerce of Rhode Island, 1726-1800*, edited by Worthington C. Ford.

A paper by Willard C. MacNaul on *The Relations of Thomas Jefferson and James Lemen in the Exclusion of Slavery from Illinois and the Northwest Territory with Related Documents, 1781-1818*, which was read before the Chicago Historical Society, has been printed in pamphlet form by the Society.

An *Index to Volumes I-XX of the Wisconsin Historical Collections*, the work of a number of persons including the late Emma Helen Blair, Ada Tyng Griswold, and Louise Phelps Kellogg, constitutes volume twenty-one of the *Collections*. The users of this series of publications will heartily welcome this elaborate index of nearly six hundred pages.

The proceedings of the thirtieth annual meeting of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society; an article on *Hull's Trace or Trail*, by Robt. P. Kennedy; a brief discussion of the question *Where did Eliza Cross the Ohio?*, by Felix J. Koch; and a statement concerning *The Hayes Bequests* make up the contents of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* for October.

The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography for January opens with a *Report of the Journey of Francis Louis Michel from Berne, Switzerland, to Virginia, October 2, 1701—December 1, 1702*, translated and edited by Wm. J. Hinke. The selection of documents concerning *The Virginia Frontier in History—1778*, by David I. Bushnell, Jr., here printed deal with events leading up to the Treaty of Fort Pitt.

The first sixty pages of *Tract No. 95 of the Western Reserve Historical Society* are devoted to articles of incorporation, lists of officers and members, and annual reports of officers. The remaining one hundred pages are taken up with *Letters from the Samuel Hunt-*

ington Correspondence, 1800-1812, with an introduction by Elbert J. Benton. Samuel Huntington was a prominent citizen and official in Ohio during the early pioneer period.

In the June number of the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* may be found the following papers: *Le Problème des Races au Canada*, by Monseigneur Paul Bruchési; *Le Mort de Champlain*, by Benjamin Sulte; *Treaty of 1825 — Correspondence Respecting the Boundary Between Russian America (Alaska) and British North America*, by James White; and *The Loyalists and Six Nation Indians in the Niagara Peninsula*, by Wilbur H. Siebert.

Under the title of *Fathers of the State* Floyd C. Shoemaker presents an interesting discussion of the personnel of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1820, which occupies the opening pages of *The Missouri Historical Review* for October. Among the members of the convention to whom special attention is given is Henry Dodge, whose connection with Iowa history is well known. Anna B. Korn is the writer of a short article on the *Origin of Missouri Day*.

The *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* for April, 1915, opens with an address on *The Life and Labors of Jonathan B. Turner*, by Edmund J. James. Then follows *A Chapter from the History of the Underground Railroad in Illinois*, by John H. Ryan. Other contributions are: *Historical Sketches of Part of the Wabash Valley*, by H. W. Beckwith; and the *Diary of John Peake*, a Revolutionary soldier who later settled in Illinois, with introduction and notes by Harold F. Crookes.

The September number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* contains, among other things, an historical and descriptive sketch of the Society; an account of *Prince Gallitzin's First Visit to the Allegheny Mountains*; and *Father Peter Helbron's Greensburg, Pa., Register*. In the December number there is an item of interest to students of Mississippi Valley history, namely, a section of the *Epistle or Diary of the Reverend Father Marie Joseph Durand*, translated from the French by Ella M. E. Flick.

Four contributions are to be found in the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, volume twenty-five, part one, namely: a *Check List of Rhode Island Almanacs, 1643-1850*, with introduction and notes by Howard M. Chapin; a biographical sketch of *Justin Fox, a German Printer of the Eighteenth Century*, by Charles L. Nichols; a monograph on *Connecticut's Ratification of the Federal Constitution*, by Bernard C. Steiner; and part three of a *Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820*, compiled by Clarence S. Brigham.

Chapters three to six of the study of *The Sulpicians in the United States*, by Charles G. Herbermann, occupy the first eighty pages of volume eight of the *Historical Records and Studies* published by the United States Catholic Historical Society and edited by the writer above named. Other contributions in this volume are: *Dr. John McLaughlin*, by Thomas J. Campbell; *Mission Work Among Colored Catholics*, by Thomas F. Meehan; *Evils of Trusteeism*, by Gerald C. Treacy; and *Two Letters of Mother Seton, Founder of the Sisters of Charity in the United States*.

Continuations of *Some Material for a Biography of Mrs. Elizabeth Fergusson, née Graeme*, by Simon Gratz; and of *Extracts from the Diary of Thomas Franklin Pleasants, 1814*, occupy the first part of *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for October. Other materials of a documentary nature here printed include *James Morrell's Account of a Trip to Ballston and Saratoga Springs in August, 1813*; the diary of *A Missionary's Tour to Shamokin and the West Branch of the Susquehanna, 1753*; and some letters relative to *Caesar Rodney's Ride, July, 1776*.

The *Fourteenth Report* of the Public Archives Commission of the American Historical Association, edited by Victor H. Paltsits, has been reprinted from the *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for 1913. Besides the formal report and the proceedings of the conference of archivists, the reprint contains a report on *The Public Archives of Wyoming*, by James F. Willard; and a *List of Reports and Representations of the Plantation Councils, 1660-1674, the Lords of Trade, 1675-1696, and the Board of Trade*,

1696-1782, in the *Public Record Office*, edited by Charles M. Andrews.

Among the contributions in the *Annual Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California* for the year 1914 are the following: *To California via Panama in 1852*, by Mrs. Cornelius Cole; *How the Area of Los Angeles City was Enlarged*, by J. M. Guinn; *The History of the Telegraph in California*, by Alice L. Bates; *The Earliest Spanish Land Grants in California*, by M. M. Livingston; *The First Expedition of Jedidiah H. Smith to California*, by Robert G. Cleland; *Marshall, the Discoverer of Gold in California*, by Percival J. Cooney; and *Mexican Land Grants in California*, by Charles C. Baker.

The October number of *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, published by the Texas State Historical Association, opens with the first installment of a monograph on *Administrative Problems of the Confederate Post Office Department*, by L. R. Garrison. Then follows chapter four of the study of *Texas versus White*, by William W. Pierson, Jr. Other contributions are: *Early Presbyterianism in Texas as Seen by Rev. James Weston Miller*, by Robert F. Miller; *The Alta California Supply Ships, 1773-76*, by Charles E. Chapman; and another section of *British Correspondence Concerning Texas*, edited by Ephraim Douglass Adams.

Reminiscences of the Burning of Columbia, South Carolina, by Michael C. Garber, Jr.,—in which there are several references to the excellent behavior of Iowa troops at that time; *The Election of 1852 in Indiana*, by Dale Beeler; *George W. Julian's Journal — The Assassination of Lincoln*, with introduction and notes by James A. Woodburn; *The Indiana Historical Commission and Plans for the Centennial*, by James A. Woodburn; *The Meaning of "Tassinong"*, by Jacob P. Dunn; and *Governor Harrison and the Treaty of Fort Wayne, 1809*, by Ellmore Barce, are contributions in the December number of the *Indiana Magazine of History*.

Tennessee, the Compromise of 1850, and the Nashville Convention, by St. George L. Sioussat; *Spanish Reaction Against the French*

Advance Toward New Mexico, 1717-1727, by William E. Dunn; *The Statesmanship of President Johnson: A Study of the Presidential Reconstruction Policy*, by Lawrence H. Gipson; and *Historical Activities in the Trans-Mississippi Northwest, 1914-1915*, by Dan E. Clark, are articles which appear in the December number of *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*. About twenty pages are devoted to some *Remnants of the Letter Files of the Dearborn Family*, with introduction and notes by Thomas Maitland Marshall.

A large number of interesting papers are to be found in the thirteenth volume of the *Proceedings of the New York State Historical Association*. Perhaps the following are of the greatest general interest: *The Evolution of History*, by Grenville M. Ingalsbe; *The Undervaluation of American Citizenship*, by Alphonso T. Clearwater; *Sir William Johnson and Pontiac*, by James T. Clark; *The Fur Traders of Early Oswego*, by Frederick W. Barnes; *Lake Ontario in History*, by Henry W. Elson; *The Loyalist Migration Overland*, by William S. Wallace; *The Old Trail from the Mohawk to Oswego*, by Avery W. Skinner; *The Party of the Loyalists in the American Revolution*, by Moses Coit Tyler; and *The Naval History of Lake Ontario and Lake Erie in the War of 1812*, by Ada W. Hill.

The Story of the Mercer Expeditions, by which a number of New England people were brought to Washington Territory during the sixties, is told by Flora A. P. Engle in the opening pages of *The Washington Historical Quarterly* for October. W. B. Seymore is the writer of a brief paper on *Pioneer Hotel Keepers of Puget Sound*. An article which has some bearing on Iowa history is one on *The Mormon Trail*, by Hiram F. White, who traces clearly and concisely the route of this important thoroughfare to the Far West. *Jason Lee: New Evidence on the Missionary and Colonizer* is the title of the concluding article, written by John Martin Canse. Under the heading of "Documents" there is printed a continuation of the *Journal of Occurrences at Nisqually House, 1833*, edited by Clarence B. Bagley.

The opening contribution in *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* for September is a scholarly study of *The Organiza-*

tion of the *Oregon Emigrating Companies*, by Harrison C. Dale. This is a topic which has a bearing on Iowa history, since, as is shown by the writer, a number of such emigration societies were formed in the Territory of Iowa, with the result that many people, after a brief sojourn here, joined the movement toward the Pacific Northwest during the forties. *The Yaquina Railroad*, by Leslie M. Scott; and *The Pacific Coast Survey of 1849 and 1850*, by Lewis A. McArthur are other articles. Finally, there is another installment of the *Correspondence of the Reverend Ezra Fisher*, who, as has already been noted in these pages, spent some time as a missionary in the Territory of Iowa before going to Oregon.

The *Scientific Studies of Dr. Asa Horr* of Dubuque are discussed by James O. Crosby in the *Annals of Iowa* for October. Three appreciations of the life and services of Richard C. Barrett are written by F. F. Faville, Albert M. Deyoe, and Edgar R. Harlan. The *Opinions of Hon. Smith McPherson, District Judge, in the Case of the United States vs. David S. Morrison* are set forth by A. J. Small. The sixth installment of *The Writings of Judge George G. Wright*, here printed, relates to Shepherd Leffler, S. C. Hastings, and Joseph Williams. B. L. Wick is the author of a brief sketch of the life of *Judge George Greene*. Finally, there are additional sections of the C. C. Stiles's outline classification of the *Public Archives of Iowa*, dealing in this instance with the office of the State Treasurer; and of Alice Marple's list of *Iowa Authors and their Works*.

Besides reports of the proceedings of meetings volume one of the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1913* contains a number of valuable papers. Among them may be mentioned the following: *Manuscripts and Historical Archives*, by Worthington C. Ford; *Frauds in Historical Portraiture, or Spurious Portraits of Historical Personages*, by Charles Henry Hart; *The Committee of the States, 1784*, by Edmund C. Burnett; *The Return of John C. Calhoun to the Senate in 1845*, by James E. Walmsley; *Charleston During the Civil War*, by Theodore D. Jervey; *The Bombardment of Fort Sumter, 1861*, by Oliver L. Spaulding, Jr.; and *Planning the Publication Work of Historical Agencies*,

by Clarence W. Alvord. Volume two of the *Report* is devoted to the *Papers of James A. Bayard, 1796-1815*, edited by Elizabeth Donnan.

The greater part of volume two of the *Washington Historical Society Publications* is taken up with addresses delivered at the dedication of the new building of the Society at Tacoma and at the unveiling of various monuments marking historic sites in the State of Washington. There are, however, the following papers: *The Story of the Indian Attack upon Seattle*, by Lucile W. Hewitt; *Reminiscences of Early Washington Territory*, by James Clark Strong; notes relative to *The Natches Pass Emigrant Train, the Indian Wars, etc.*, by the late W. H. Gilstrap; *Washington Territory's First Legislature*, by Allen Weir; *The Anti-Chinese Riots of 1885*, by John H. McGraw; a reprint of the account of *The Ascent of Takhoma*, by General Hazard Stevens; *Indian Superstitions*, by P. F. Hylebos; and *Correspondence Relative to the Indian Names of the Great Mountain*, conducted by Benjamin L. Harvey.

An interesting glimpse of early commercial activities in the West from about 1754 to 1776 is to be found in an article describing *The Gratz Papers*, by William Vincent Byers, which appears in number twenty-three of the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*. Barnard and Michael Gratz were Philadelphia merchants whose business relations extended as far west as the Illinois country. *The Startling Experience of a Jewish Trader During Pontiac's Siege of Detroit in 1763*, briefly related by David E. Heineman, is another item of western interest. Among the other contributions may be mentioned the following: *Some Jewish Associates of John Brown*, by Leon Hühner; *References to Jews in the Correspondence of John J. Crittenden*, contributed by Cyrus Adler and Albert M. Friedenberg; and *Jews Interested in Privateering in America During the Eighteenth Century*, by Leon Hühner.

The first part of a biography of *General James Winchester, 1752-1826*, by John H. DeWitt; the concluding installment of Donald L. McMurry's study of *The Indian Policy of the Federal Government and the Economic Development of the Southwest, 1789-1801*; a

roster of *The Confederate Government, 1861-1865*, compiled by W. E. Beard; and some Mexican War letters of Colonel William B. Campbell of Tennessee, edited by St. George L. Sioussat, make up the contents of the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* for June. In the September number *The True Route of the Natchez Trace* is discussed by Park Marshall; the biography of General Winchester is concluded; A. P. Foster briefly sets forth *The Purpose of the Andrew Jackson Memorial Association*; and there are a number of letters of James K. Polk to Cave Johnson covering the period from 1833 to 1846, with introduction and notes by St. George L. Sioussat.

The American Historical Review for October opens with a twelve-page account of the meeting of the American Historical Association in California during the summer of 1915. Then follows a paper on *Maximum Wage-laws for Priests after the Black Death, 1348-1381*, by Bertha Haven Putnam. *The French Objective in the American Revolution* is discussed by Edward S. Corwin; *The Earlier Relations of England and Belgium* are described by Charles W. Colby; and *A Theory of Jefferson Davis* is presented by N. W. Stephenson. Among the "Notes and Suggestions" may be found some observations relative to official military reports, by Justin H. Smith; and a brief discussion of conscription during the Civil War, by Carl Russell Fish. Finally, under the heading of "Documents" there is printed *Dr. John McLoughlin's Last Letter to the Hudson's Bay Company, as Chief Factor, in Charge at Fort Vancouver, 1845*, with introduction and notes by Katharine B. Judson.

Volume five, number five of the *Indiana Historical Society Publications* is an exceedingly interesting and valuable contribution not only to the literature of Indiana history but also to that of all the Upper Mississippi Valley Commonwealths in which the conditions of pioneer life were essentially the same. It is a volume of nearly three hundred pages entitled *The Pioneers of Morgan County* and consists of the memoirs of Noah J. Major, edited by Logan Esarey. The memoirs, written in an entertaining style and made vivid by frequent illustrative anecdotes and by the use of many of the idioms

and colloquial expressions characteristic of the period, present a very clear picture of the life of the pioneers. Some idea of the contents of the volume may be gained from the following list of subjects discussed: the first settlers, marriage and housekeeping, wooing and wedding, corn fields and early farming, sickness and sorrow, hunting stories, religion, a summer school, politics and elections, counterfeits, shows, exports and transportation, flatboats and boating, the old canal, mills and millwrights, and the early law-makers. It is seldom that reminiscences attain such a high standard in respect to style, accuracy, and breadth of view.

ACTIVITIES

The ninth annual meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association was held at Columbus, Ohio, on October 21 and 22, 1915.

The New York Historical Society has recently published a catalogue of its gallery of art, and a catalogue of its collection of Egyptian antiquities.

The Madrid (Iowa) Historical Society has recently acquired a set of drawing instruments and some books which once belonged to C. W. Gaston, the first settler in Boone County.

There is a growing sentiment in Page County in favor of the formation of a county historical society, and in fact a committee has been appointed to canvass the matter. It is to be hoped that the movement will soon be crowned with success.

Students of Mississippi Valley history will be interested to know that under the direction of the Louisiana Historical Society a calendar is being prepared which will contain a list of the records of the French and Spanish régimes which are to be found in the Cabildo at New Orleans.

The annual meeting of the Kossuth County Historical Society was held at Algona on December 14, 1915. A paper by Mrs. Gardner Cowles on the early history of Kossuth County containing frequent extracts from the diary of her father, Ambrose Call, was the prin-

incipal feature of the program. Mr. B. F. Reed was reëlected president, and Mr. A. Hutchinson was chosen as secretary.

The Historical Department of Iowa at Des Moines has acquired by gift the large collection of Civil War relics gathered by Major S. H. M. Byers. The difficulty of making a proper display of this collection has caused Curator Harlan to endorse the suggestion made by the Iowa department of the Grand Army of the Republic that an addition to the Historical Building should be erected for use as a "Grand Army Corridor".

Among the recent manuscript accessions of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin is a large collection of the letters and papers of Cyrus Woodman, an early attorney in Wisconsin who was also for a time register of the land office in that State. The Society held its sixty-third annual meeting on October 21st, the principal address being one by Gaillard Hunt of the Library of Congress on the subject *The President of the United States*.

A summary of the work of the Jefferson County Historical Society for the last quarter of the year 1915, prepared by Hiram Heaton, appeared in the *Fairfield Journal* of December 2, 1915. Special mention is made of the old settlers' reunion on October 1st. It is also noted that a movement is on foot to unite three Jefferson County organizations, namely: the Old Settlers' Association, the Old Settlers' Park Association, and the Historical Society.

The State Historical Society of Missouri is now established in fire-proof quarters in the splendid new library building of the University of Missouri at Columbia. The work of moving the large library and collections of the Society from Academic Hall was completed during August and September. Nearly one-half of the new library building has been assigned to the Society, thus meeting all present needs and giving room for future expansion. Under its new superintendent, Mr. Floyd C. Shoemaker, the Society is making plans for the extension of its work to the end that it may be increasingly useful to the people of the State. The thirteenth annual meeting of the Society was held on December 10th, Walter B. Stevens of St. Louis being the principal speaker.

ALLAMAKEE COUNTY HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

On November 30, 1915, there was organized at Waukon, Iowa, the Allamakee County Historical and Archaeological Society, which in the constitution is declared to be an "auxiliary to the State Historical Department of Iowa at Des Moines, the Historical Society of Iowa at Iowa City, the Waukon Public Library and the High School Library at Waukon." The objects of the Society are broad in scope, including the preservation of all records and materials bearing upon the history of the county as well as relics and remains of the prehistoric inhabitants of this region. The membership fee is one dollar a year.

The following officers were elected to serve until the annual meeting which will be held on the second Tuesday of January: Charles F. Pye, President; H. B. Miner, Vice President; A. M. May, Secretary and Treasurer; and E. M. Hancock, Curator. In addition to these officers the list of incorporators includes Ellison Orr, Charlotte Hancock, and Miss Jessie Lewis.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

A volume on the history of third party movements in the United States, with special reference to Iowa, written by Dr. Fred E. Haynes, is now in press.

Professor Louis B. Schmidt of the Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, a member of the Society, read a paper on *The Economic History of American Agriculture as a Field for Study* before the American Historical Association at Washington, D. C., during the holidays.

General Grenville M. Dodge, who died on January 3, 1916, was a life member of The State Historical Society of Iowa.

Dr. Benjamin F. Shambaugh, the Superintendent of the Society, delivered an illustrated address on *Examples of what American States, Cities, and Business Corporations Have Done for the Preservation of their Records* at Washington, D. C., on December 28th before a joint meeting of various national organizations then in

session in that city. The joint meeting was in the interest of the movement for the erection of a national archives building.

Mr. J. A. Green of Stone City, a life member of the Society, celebrated his seventy-first birthday on December 10th. He was born in Ireland in 1844, came to America in 1852, and located at Stone City in 1868, soon afterward opening up Champion Quarry, the operation of which in time developed into an industry of large proportions. Mr. Green was a member of the State Senate in the Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth General Assemblies.

The following persons have recently been elected to membership in the Society: Mr. Dwight P. Breed, Grinnell, Iowa; Mr. G. R. Lemmon, Guthrie Center, Iowa; Mr. John Van Steenberg, Sioux Center, Iowa; Mr. E. P. Chase, Atlantic, Iowa; Mr. F. W. Johansen, Audubon, Iowa; Mr. S. S. Melchert, Bloomfield, Iowa; Mr. A. F. Galloway, Clarinda, Iowa; Mr. Ernest Horn, Iowa City, Iowa; and Mr. Maurice Ricker. The following have been elected to life membership: Mr. Euclid Sanders, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. F. E. Horack, Iowa City, Iowa; and Mr. S. A. Swisher, Iowa City, Iowa.

NOTES AND COMMENT

William L. Alexander, who was Adjutant General of Iowa from 1878 to 1889, died at Pasadena, California, late in November, 1915.

W. G. McElrea, one of the few survivors of the Sultana disaster on the Mississippi River during the Civil War, died near Knoxville, Iowa, on November 25, 1915.

A log cabin has been erected near the entrance to Fejervary Park in Davenport, Iowa, as a memorial to the pioneers of Scott County and a reminder of pioneer days.

At the age of ninety-four years, William Graham, State Senator in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth General Assemblies of Iowa, died in Des Moines on November 24, 1915.

The seventeenth Iowa State Conference of Charities and Correction was held at Waterloo on November 21-23, 1915.

Lewis L. Taylor, who was a member of the State Senate of Iowa from the Thirtieth to the Thirty-fourth General Assemblies, died at his home in Centerville on December 27, 1915.

Mrs. Mary Boone Hosman, a daughter of Nathan Boone whose name frequently appears in the early history of Iowa, died recently in Missouri. She was the last grandchild of Daniel Boone.

Henry Harrison Rood, a member of the famous Crocker's Iowa Brigade, and secretary of the Board of Trustees of Cornell College at Mt. Vernon, Iowa, since 1868, died late in October, 1915.

A tablet in memory of Chief Black Hawk was unveiled in Crapo Park at Burlington, Iowa, on October 21, 1915.

Charles W. Miller, Representative from Bremer County in the General Assembly of Iowa, died at his home at Waverly on October 6, 1915. Mr. Miller was born in Buchanan County in 1861.

All of the State educational institutions in North Dakota are now governed by a single State Board of Educational Regents of five members, which was created by an act of the legislature in 1915.

The foundation for the Allison monument on the capitol grounds at Des Moines was completed on October 15, 1915, and a bronze box containing a number of books and papers relating to Senator Allison was placed in the pedestal. It is expected that the monument will be entirely finished by May, 1916.

Missouri is to have a new capitol building costing \$3,500,000. The corner-stone was laid on June 24, 1915. This will be the eleventh building used for capitol purposes in Missouri in the course of its history.

On December 19, 1915, at Marble Rock, Iowa, occurred the death of E. C. Spaulding, who was a member of the General Assembly from 1892 to 1896 and from 1902 to 1906, serving in each house during three legislative sessions.

Professor Claude H. Van Tyne of the University of Michigan has retired from the board of editors of *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, and has been chosen as a member of the editorial board of *The American Historical Review*.

On October 26, 1915, occurred the death of Charles Trumbull Granger, who was a Justice of the Supreme Court of Iowa from 1889 to 1900 and twice during that time was Chief Justice. Previously he had served as district judge in the Thirteenth Judicial District, his home being at Waukon. During the past ten years Judge Granger lived in California.

The Iowa Society of Social Science Teachers, which was organized for the purpose of promoting an interest in the study of economics, history, and government, held a meeting at Des Moines on November 4th and 5th, in connection with the sessions of the State Teachers' Association. Among those who appeared on the program were Louis B. Schmidt, Paul F. Peck, Miss Clara M. Daley, B. F. Asquith, C. H. Meyerholz, and Thomas Teakle, the retiring president.

The following officers were elected for the coming year: Louis B. Schmidt of Ames, president; Miss Ruth Fall of Cedar Falls, vice president; Miss Mary Kasson of Des Moines, secretary and treasurer; and Olynthus B. Clark of Drake University, chairman of the executive committee.

At least fifteen scientific and learned associations held their annual meetings at Washington, D. C., during the holidays. Of greatest prominence was the second Pan-American Scientific Congress, covering a much wider field than its name indicates, and the sessions of which extended from December 27 to January 8. A large number of delegates were in attendance from South and Central America, as well as from all parts of North America. The Nineteenth International Congress of the Americanists also attracted delegates from many countries. Among the other organizations meeting at the same time and place doubtless the American Historical Association was the most largely attended. The American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, the American Sociological Society, and the associations devoted to anthropology, archaeology, and folk-lore also drew unusually large numbers of persons especially interested in these various fields.

THE ADMISSION OF GEORGE W. JONES TO THE BAR

Readers of the biography of Senator George Wallace Jones, which was published four years ago by The State Historical Society of Iowa, will be interested in the following additional information furnished by Hon. G. S. Robinson of Spirit Lake, former Justice of the Supreme Court of Iowa, in a letter to the Superintendent of the Society:

"I have just read with much interest Parish's *George Wallace Jones*. Although perhaps too late and not very important, I venture to call attention to a mooted question the answer to which is within my personal knowledge.

"On page 7 it is said that he 'seems never to have been admitted to the bar.' He was admitted to practice in the supreme court of this state during or about the year 1892 on motion. I do not know now what the preliminary proof of qualifications was but as he was

not examined as for original admission there must have been proof of a prior admission. The proof submitted and the date of his admission can be found among the supreme court records at Des Moines.

"It is the practice, when a person or class is presented for admission for the chief justice to administer the oath while he and the associate judges are sitting. The only exception to that practice which I ever knew occurred on the admission of Senator Jones. All the members of the court stood while the oath was administered."

GRENVILLE M. DODGE

Grenville Mellen Dodge, one of Iowa's best known citizens, died at his home in Council Bluffs on January 3, 1916. As civil engineer, railroad-builder, soldier, and public-spirited citizen, for more than sixty years his life was closely identified with the development and prosperity of Iowa and the West.

Mr. Dodge was born at Danvers, Massachusetts, on April 12, 1831; and his early education was received at Dunham Academy, Norwich University, and Partridge's Military Academy. At the age of twenty he came west, remaining for a time in Illinois; and then in 1853 he made his first visit to Kanesville (now Council Bluffs) and the Missouri River region, where he was to live for more than half a century. It was not long after this that he was chosen to lead the party of surveyors sent out to find the most feasible route for the proposed trans-continental railway. In this capacity he penetrated a region almost unknown, going as far as the Rocky Mountains and acquiring a valuable store of information concerning the country and the Indian tribes.

The outbreak of the Civil War interrupted this work, and Mr. Dodge immediately offered his services to Governor Kirkwood. Entering the war as a colonel he rose rapidly in rank, finally attaining the position of major-general in command of an entire army corps. He was one of the commanders most trusted by Grant and Sherman. At the close of the war he rendered effective service in Indian campaigns in the West.

Turning then from military life to the work which throughout his

career he always considered his greatest achievement, he once more took up his interrupted engineering operations. Now, however, he was in charge of the construction of the Union Pacific Railroad across the plains, succeeding another Iowa man, Mr. Peter A. Dey, in this capacity. Overcoming great obstacles the road was finally completed in May, 1869.

General Dodge also helped to build and to manage many other railroads west of the Mississippi River. From 1867 to 1869 he represented the Fifth Congressional District of Iowa in Congress. Honored and respected by the people of Council Bluffs and Iowa, his name was well known throughout the Nation, and his advice and counsel were often sought by the President of the United States and by those in authority in other lands.

CONTRIBUTORS

RUTH AUGUSTA GALLAHER, Research Librarian in the Library of The State Historical Society of Iowa. Born in Illinois in 1882. Graduated from the State University of Iowa in 1908. History teacher in the Independence High School, 1908-1910. Principal of the High School at Shoshone, Idaho, 1910-1913. Assistant in the department of history of the State University of Iowa, 1913-1914.

JOHN ELY BRIGGS, Research Assistant in The State Historical Society of Iowa. (See *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS* for July, 1915, p. 471.)

JACOB VAN DER ZEE, Assistant Professor of Political Science in the State University of Iowa. (See *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS* for January, 1912, p. 142.)

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THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS
APRIL NINETEEN HUNDRED SIXTEEN
VOLUME FOURTEEN NUMBER TWO

THE ROMANCE IN IOWA HISTORY

Only a brief time ago an Iowa expatriate, paraphrasing the famous expression of Cavour concerning disunited Italy, remarked that Iowa, historically, is but a geographical expression. It may be true that Iowa has not been the scene of any great battle like that at Gettysburg, that her traditions have not been built around a Mount Vernon or a Monticello, and that her highways have not been invested with the glamour of an El Camino Real. And yet, Iowa has not been lacking in fields of valor, in shrines of adoration, or in highways of romance. Within the brief span of the recorded history of this State may be found any number of incidents worthy the pen of the most talented author.

Not appreciating the element of romance in the history of their native or adopted State, most of the writers claiming Iowa as the place of their birth or early training have steadfastly turned to other fields in search of suitable themes or settings. They have prospected in the gold regions of California or Alaska, while passing unnoted the romantic history of our own lead mines once widely known as the "Mines of Spain". Still others have sought the barren plains or rocky foothill regions of the further West in search of thrilling Indian encounters. In so doing they have left untouched the life and death struggles for mastery waged for generations upon Iowa soil, where there surged back and forth an unrelenting struggle between the Indians of the Sioux and the Sac and Fox nations. Others have gone to the far eastern sections of our country in search of a suitable atmosphere for tales of boarding-school or academic life. Thus have been neglected such pioneer Iowa schools as Denmark

Academy which for years was as a rock in the desert to those seeking relief from the intellectual barrenness of frontier life. Certainly Iowa history is not fully appreciated or our writers would not have wandered so far in quest of materials.

Myth and tradition have been called the primal bases of history; but one need not go to ancient Greece or Rome to find them. About the Iowa country cluster innumerable legends of the Indian tribes that at various times dwelt within its borders. In the beautiful legend of Minnewaukon, for instance, may be found a theme not less interesting than the story of Ellen of the Isle. Akin in its capabilities of romantic rendition is the legend reciting the origin of maize. In this legend we are told that maize was early bestowed as a sacred gift upon the Indians of the Sac and Fox tribes. For centuries, it is said, the region of eastern Iowa was the scene of its timely and mysterious bestowal. This myth may, in large measure, account for the tenacity with which these peoples clung to the Iowa country as their home.

Again, there is the story of Mascoutin, the "Isle of Fire", which stood in the superstitious Indian mind as the visible evidence of the Great Spirit's wrath. To-day it still bears a name indicative of its legendary past. What scenes were enacted here in the presence of "this magnificent and terrible spectacle" of the Creator's power, when periodic fires swept across the island consuming all vegetation, none but a romancer's mind may conjure up. None but a true artist could visualize such scenes as here oftentimes cowed the Indian hosts of the Upper Mississippi. Hard by, we are told, lived a great medicine man who kept the sun, moon, stars, and fire shut up in a box. A raven, long the guardian genius of the tribe, caused itself by enchantment to be transformed into human shape, and as such became a great favorite with

the old Indian magician. He was denied nothing. One day upon asking to examine the precious box it was given to him, the lid was soon pried open by over-curious fingers, and the heavenly bodies at once assumed their proper places in the firmament. The thoroughly frightened raven, taking again his birdlike form, snatched a coal of fire and brought it home as a peace-offering to his tribal ward. Thus was brought to earth that priceless boon to man, that invaluable possession of the Great Spirit — Fire.

With what reverential fear and awe must the Dakota warrior have ever looked upon Pilot Rock. Riven in twain by the hand of the Great Spirit it long stood as the symbol of barbarian adoration in the valley of the Little Sioux and there it still remains — a reminder of a vanished race. Even more weird and fantastic are the traditions that envelop the Painted Rocks of the White Breast Fork of the Des Moines River. Tinted with the brush of the Master Artist in glowing colors, barbarian curiosity never ceased to speculate upon their beauties and meaning.

Ages ago, tradition tells us, Iowa boasted a culture which had passed away perhaps centuries before the coming of the white man. To-day, on Tomahawk Island near Eddyville and at various localities along the Mississippi and confluent streams one may pause and dream of a past civilization which is still as much of a riddle as that of the Sphinx. One may still find in many localities in the State constant reminders of a paleolithic or neolithic age to which legend is our strongest tie. Lacking a better name we call the people who developed this culture "mound builders". Tradition gives them a fascinating history, but anthropology still speculates as to who they were.

When visiting the museum of the Davenport Academy of Sciences, rich in its memorials of the stone age in Iowa and adjacent States, one can but wonder why Iowa's anthropol-

ogists journey to far-away Arizona, Yucatan, and Peru, seeking to unravel there the mysteries of the past, when here at home is a romantic past fully as interesting in the possibilities of its revelation, though not so stupendous in its material remains, as can be found elsewhere in the western world. Here, waiting the touch of a master hand, is a wealth of material capable of imaginative development.

Since the beginning of recorded history, at least, the friendship of man for man has been a potent factor in shaping the social and political trend of the world. Well-known is the Biblical story of the friendship of David and Jonathan. Classic times offer its counterpart in the pledged sacrifice of Damon and Pythias. Equally dramatic, in the annals of early Iowa, was the more than brotherly devotion of the Kettle Chief for Julien Dubuque. Not even death could part this red man and his white companion, for it was the Kettle Chief's frequently expressed wish that he should lie in death by the side of his friend. And thus they lay until a day when a community, inconsiderate of the ancient friendship, erected a tribute shaft to the memory of Julien Dubuque and left unmarked the grave of his loyal and devoted savage brother. Even stronger in the fervor of its mutual devotion and sacrifice was the friendship of Chief Wapello and Agent Joseph M. Street. A visitor to the old burial-ground at Agency City may yet see their graves side by side.

Another man's devotion to the cause he loved made it possible for Iowa's Territorial capitol building at Iowa City to stand to-day as a model of the classical style of architecture. The storms of three-quarters of a century have only served to accentuate its beauty. It still remains as a memorial of a brilliant Milanese mind — that of Father Mazzu-

chelli, Dominican monk, priest, missionary, architect, and educator. Unassuming and faithful he served in the "fever-haunted wigwam, the crowded pest-house, in the mine or on the river" and died alone, deserted and unshrived. Of him it has been said that "he was of gentle birth, delicate, simple, democratic, loving, confidential, mild-mannered, a second St. Francis of Assisi in the Mississippi Valley".

Scarcely less romantic is the story of the brilliant architect of the beautiful capitol building at Des Moines. Nurtured beneath the sunny skies of France and trained in its schools of art and design, Picquenard early espoused the cause of spiritual and intellectual freedom and became a prophet of the nineteenth century renaissance. Protesting vehemently against the social abuses of his day he fell into disfavor. An ungrateful and despotic government forced him into a voluntary exile from the land of his childhood which he loved so well. Turning to America as a haven of refuge from the social and political storms of the Old World, he cast his lot with his fellow-countrymen of Icaria. Rapidly he rose to favor and fame as an architect of the first rank. He has long since gone to his rest, but as enduring monuments to his genius stand the capitol buildings in Springfield, Illinois, and in Des Moines, Iowa.

To only a few characters has it been granted to fill a romantic niche in history. Such an one was the noted Indian leader, Black Hawk, whose troubled career was as full of interest as was that of any old-world hero. He was sage, philosopher, and patriot, as well as a polished orator, a true prophet, and a redoubtable warrior. Harassed by the onward march of a civilization which he could not understand, he yet firmly stood his ground. Tortured in soul by the treason of fellow-tribesmen and the westward extension of the frontier, who can fathom his agony of mind when he

came, as was his daily wont, to look westward across the Great River toward the setting sun, from the watch tower of his fathers? Forced by the strategy of a merciless, superior culture to abandon the beautiful and charming valley of his ancestors, he reluctantly retired to the appointed reserve on the banks of the lower Des Moines. Deposed, broken in spirit, and deserted by most of the members of his tribe, his few remaining years were spent as a recluse. Here, on October 3, 1838, passed away one of the greatest military commanders and strategists the red race has produced. Little wonder is it that as his life drew to its close he should have complained: "What do we know of the manners and customs of the white people? They might buy our bodies for dissection, and we would touch the goose-quill to confirm it, and not know what we were doing. This was the case with me and my people in touching the goose-quill the first time."

Eons ago Iowa lay at the bottom of a broad, shallow sea in a sub-tropical clime. Upon this sea-bottom grew a rich crinoidal life of "wondrous beauty" and "rare delicacy". Carpeting the ocean depths with a lavish yet fragile luxuriance such as the world has seldom if ever seen in any epoch these "stone lilies" or "feather stars" slowly swayed back and forth in response to the motion of the ocean waves. Changes came and the waters of this great interior sea receded. Centuries passed away and the fauna of diluvian times became the "stone lilies" of a later age.

In this more recent day came Charles Wachsmuth. Broken in health, he was forced to forego his life's ambitions at the early age of fourteen. With a courageous heart he forsook his native German land and boyhood aspirations and came to America where, he was told, his physical vigor might be regained. Advised to seek out-door exercise he turned to the investigation of fossil marine life in the lime-

stone deposits of southeastern Iowa, making his home at Burlington. He labored indefatigably and enthusiastically in quarry and ravine. The world of science learned to know and appreciate him, while lavishing academic honors without stint upon him. Later he was joined by Frank Springer who, like himself, had learned to read in Nature's all but closed book the story of by-gone ages. In collaboration these enthusiastic workers produced what has been called "the grandest scientific and philosophic offspring ever conceived in Iowa". Yet it has been said that "a distant state less slow to perceive the spark of genius" snatched from Iowa "the one great honor of a century". Thus while Iowa was engaged in material development the appreciation and enterprise of the State of Massachusetts gave to the world of science the most remarkable and monumental work on American crinoids ever written.

But the history of Iowa has not been illumined alone by the romance of legend and the achievements of individual lives. The story of the years that are gone has been largely tintured with commercial and industrial romance. Thirty years ago the traveler bound east or west, in crossing the great Father of Waters at Clinton, would have seen piles of sawed timbers covering the entire river front, while banks of logs lay inside their booms for miles and miles along the shores. To-day this picture is a mere memory. Here or there may be seen scattered piles of worm-eaten, weather-stained lumber — the only suggestion of a time when Clinton made millionaires, who exacted their tribute from the far-away pine forests of Minnesota and Wisconsin. In days now long since gone the river swarmed with huge rafts manned by turbulent river drivers whose magic touch controlled the course of acres upon acres of logs.

The untamed Goths of the river steered their rafts by day,

but drank and rioted by night in the towns along the stream which were theirs by right of physical conquest. But from their perilous labors came the fruitage of a later time when fine homes began to dot the prairies of Iowa. While the river front, not only at Clinton but also at Davenport, Dubuque, and Muscatine, was "rife with the scream of rotary saws" mechanical changes came and the life made so familiar by Ralph Connor in his tales of the far northwest receded gradually into Iowa's past and was seen no more.

Although the soil of Iowa has never been stained with the blood of civil strife or foreign invasion since the coming of the white man, this region did not escape unscathed during the years of border conflict and civil war. It was the part of the people of Iowa to witness in a neighboring State the bloody prelude of the turmoil in which they were later to participate at points far removed from their Iowa homes. But there were instances in which the struggle was brought closer to their own doors.

While abolitionist enthusiasm was sweeping across the New England and Middle States with all the rancor of the impending conflict, Iowa was offering sanctuary to the strange and erratic individual whose chimeric plans were to stir the nation to its depths and to precipitate more than any other one thing, the most terrible civil strife of modern days. Sheltered by an Iowa community opposed to war, John Brown planned, with the impracticability of a dreamer the raid upon Harper's Ferry. Iowa had many times been his refuge, whether fleeing from the wrath of Missouri slave-drivers or Kansan "border ruffians". Here he recruited his little company of odd characters, theorists and idealists, who regarded their leader as a being inspired. From Iowa they went upon their ill-fated mission. To Iowa the few survivors returned, fleeing the wrath of an aroused South.

No wilder dream has ever been embodied in romantic fiction than this venture of John Brown and his devoted followers.

To the forests fringing the streams of southern Iowa came the "Copperheads" of Missouri during the ensuing period of internecine civil war. Despised for their convictions and treacherous undermining of Unionist loyalty, they remained a constant target for vituperative attack. Refusing their moral support to the North they also denied their physical assistance to the South; and thus they remained a source of constant irritation. A spark only was needed to produce an explosion.

In the valley of Shekagua or Skunk River in Keokuk County had settled such a band. Heavily armed at all times they assumed toward their unsympathetic Northern neighbors a hostile and menacing attitude. In return the Unionists about them were ever on the alert to detect any overt act of disloyalty. Each side, as it were, stood at bay. The crisis came when a Unionist Republican meeting was called to be held at South English. The "Copperhead" element responded by calling a meeting of their supporters at a place near by. Upon the day appointed, August 1, 1863, the "Copperhead" or "Golden Circle" party moved north across Keokuk County to the designated rendezvous near the English River. A more beautiful midsummer day than this had never dawned upon the quiet and self-complacent community of South English. The drowsy little village became upon this day the "Lexington" of the forces opposed to "Copperheadism" in Iowa. Answering the call to personal defense, the rustic community, so heedless of distant storms, became at once a seething cauldron of loyalist wrath in the presence of nearby peril. No border skirmish was ever more dramatically staged and fought than was that of the attack of Iowa's loyal sons upon the Tally Band. In a very short time the little old tavern of the village became the

storm center of the gallant and patriotic villagers' wrath, while the blood of southern sympathizers was made to flow as a long delayed expiation for wrongs committed. Many events immortalized on the pages of European and American history are less worthy of commemoration than is this episode known as "The Skunk River War".

The desire to gain religious, political or economic freedom has always been a dominant motive among human beings. In obedience to this impulse man has made frequent pilgrimages to remote and relatively unknown lands. Answering its call Abraham moved out from Ur of the Chaldees, the nomadic Asiatic barbarians overran and devastated Europe, and Columbus discovered America. Its never-ceasing demands have sent peoples north, east, south, and west, girdling and re-girdling the globe. Thus it happened that Iowa at various times became a haven and an asylum for persecuted peoples. Much of the romance of Iowa history clusters about the singular religious, economic, and political communities which at different times sought homes in this State.

More than sixty years ago a strange cavalcade might have been seen wending its toilsome way across the prairies of Iowa. Hundreds of religious enthusiasts were making a pilgrimage to their new land of promise in the Far West. Braving hunger, storm, and the perils of the plains, nearly every member of the party pushed before him a little hand cart containing all of his worldly goods. Willingly each individual trudged on in order to reach his goal — the beautiful and to him heavenly valley of Utah. Hundreds perished, hundreds gave up in sheer despair, while other thousands reached the hoped-for goal. Preceding them by only a brief interval, Brigham Young and the faithful members of the parent community fled across Iowa from Nauvoo

to Kanesville (now Council Bluffs), leaving behind them a well-marked trail which later guided thousands of other emigrants on the long journey to Oregon or California.

Nearly coincident with the flight of the Mormons across Iowa was the arrival of other groups of people seeking release from the religious and economic tyranny of revolutionary Europe. Revolting against oppression in the home land, these people came from socially disturbed France, from religiously torn Germany, and from politically unsettled Hungary.

Devoutly believing that the day of revelation had not passed away, and that the social unrest of the period was directly traceable to the avarice of man, a little community of kindred souls had grown up in Germany in an effort to combat the evil tendencies of the times. Buffeted by more than a century of social and religious conflict, its members finally fled from the land of their nativity. As the English pilgrims turned from Leyden in Holland to the untried regions of the New World, so the Inspirationists turned to America as a refuge. From the quiet and simple existence of the Old World peasant or villager they turned to a life of trial and hardship on the American plains. Willingly they took up the new burden, confident they would not find it too heavy to bear. Settling first in New York, after a short time they found conditions in that locality unsuited for the realization of their religious ideal. From thence they journeyed to Iowa, and here they are to-day — a bit of eighteenth century German life in the midst of twentieth century Iowa. At the Amana colonies may be seen a unique people, freed from the cares of the world, simple and faithful in ideals, unspoiled, industrious and noteworthy as the only truly successful and self-sufficing communistic society in the United States. Still to a considerable extent isolated from the distracting tendencies of the day, these True Inspira-

tionists pursue the even tenor of their ways — a devout and industrious folk.

Less happy, because of the ultimate failure to realize its ideal of social reform, was the Community of Icaria. Founded during a period of social and political chaos in France, the strangeness of its moral precepts earned the displeasure of the "Citizen King", Louis Philippe. Seeking to escape the cruelty of opulence, as well as the "grape-shot and ruin" incident to the tyranny of an intemperate time, these pilgrims of a later day likewise fled from their native land. Chance carried them to Texas. Following a period of almost untold privation they removed to Missouri. Finding conditions here unsuited for the furtherance of their social projects they passed on to the "dead city" of Nauvoo. Well received at first, the strangeness of their teachings quickly aroused antipathy; and once again they assumed the burden of another and, for most of them, a final pilgrimage. At Corning, Iowa, they at last found rest and liberty to realize their ideals. But the community's life was stormy, for its social principles were untrue to the best in man and its ranks were rent again and again by the storms of divisive strife. Failing to preserve harmony of communistic endeavor, the members at last resolved upon dissolution. Thus in 1896 in Adams County "expired the last dying embers of one of the greatest and most unusual socialistic enterprises the world has ever known."

Probably no people in Europe, ancient or modern, have had a more glorious and thrilling story than have those folk who, in Caesar's time, were known as the Nervii. Undaunted, they contended with the legions of Caesar upon the one hand and with the barbarian hordes from the east upon the other; and emerged from the unequal combat unconquered. Although trampled under the feet of advancing foemen again and again, they have never been subdued in spirit.

Each time they have risen and, gathering strength from every crushing blow, have stubbornly resisted bruising by the tyrant's heel. To them these unequal contests have ever been as threads "woven in to give the cloth" of their lives the needed "color and strength". Their little land has always been the home of liberty and independence of thought and action. Charlemagne, the conqueror of more than fifty peoples, declared them free "as long as the wind blows and the world stands." Untouched by the levelling influence of mediaeval church thought and the horrors of the Inquisition, as well as by the bloody terrorism of the Duke of Alva, they emerged into modern times with the same ideals as of old, still offering sanctuary to free political and religious thought. Still free, the nineteenth century found them unaffected by the menacing fury of the revolutionary tempests. But a day not so happy soon dawned. Church and State became as one — an apparent expedient of absolutism unsuited to the ideals of this people, among whom the shibboleth of Church and State separatism found a rich soil in which to grow. Unreconciled to the new conditions and perceiving no immediate opportunity for betterment in Old World tendencies, the party of discontent resolved upon migration. They, like their fellow-sufferers of Icaria and Amana, came to America; and some of them found their way to Iowa during the middle years of the past century. Thus Pella was established and settled by the freedom-loving Holland separatists. Here they, like their French and German contemporaries, have found the needed freedom to solve their destiny as they see the problem; and to-day their quiet and even lives speak well for the romantic endeavors of the past.

But Iowa has not lured the social and religious enthusiast alone. The religious ascetic, with all the severe austerity of

his self-denial, has found in Iowa an atmosphere admirably adapted to the performance of his mediaeval penance. While Europe was sinking into the black night of political disruption preceding the dawn of present-day liberalism, the Monks of the Silent Brotherhood were seeking in America that peace of soul so essential to the practice of the tenets of their faith. Thus their messenger, in search of physical and spiritual peace, came to Iowa. Near Dubuque he found his ideal — a spot sequestered and far removed from scenes of conflict. Here came the disciples of his ascetic faith. They remain to-day, unruffled and untouched, while political, social, and economic conflicts agitate the people of the outer world. Pledged to perpetual silence, to unremitting physical toil, and to intensive religious devotion, they quietly labor on day after day and year after year. No one may know the stories of tragedy and romance which are here concealed from the knowledge of the world.

Thus, although the events of Iowa history may seem to have been relatively unimportant in the annals of the nation as viewed by the casual and superficial observer, it may readily be seen that one need not go beyond the bounds of the State to find abundant materials for romance. Only a few of the many dramatic incidents and features of Iowa history have been touched upon. There are scores of other episodes equally worthy of being transformed by the touch of a master hand into a series of fascinating stories of Iowa history.

THOMAS TEAKLE

DES MOINES IOWA

THE INDIAN AGENT IN THE UNITED STATES SINCE 1850

[This is the second in a series of articles on the Indian agent, written by Miss Gallaher, the first of which appeared in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS for January, 1916. The two remaining articles will be devoted entirely to the Indian agents in Iowa.—EDITOR]

INDIAN AGENTS FROM 1850 TO 1871

The transfer of the Indian Office to the Department of the Interior in 1849 did not result in any radical change in the administration of Indian affairs. An act approved on February 27, 1851, abolished the old superintendencies east of the Rocky Mountains and established three new ones, the superintendents of which were to receive \$2000 a year. All treaties with the Indians were to be made by officers and agents without extra pay. In place of the twenty-three agents and sub-agents east of the Rocky Mountains and north of Texas and New Mexico, the President might appoint eleven agents, at annual salaries of \$1500, and six agents who were to receive \$1000 a year. Four agents were assigned to New Mexico and one to Utah. The pay of interpreters in California, Utah, Oregon, and New Mexico was increased to \$500 a year and of those in other localities to \$400; while special agents sent to deliver annuities in the older States were to receive four dollars a day and expenses.¹

The change in the authority over Indian affairs occurred just at the time of the addition of territory to the United States as a result of the Mexican War and in the same year that the rush to the gold fields of California began. Indeed,

¹ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. IX, pp. 586, 587.

a new era had begun, both for the United States and for the Indians. Before this time the natives had maintained an almost unbroken, if irregular, line against the advance of the white settlers; henceforth, they were surrounded by settlements — their country being divided and sub-divided by the highways of emigration.

The Indians were collected either by persuasion or by force on the rapidly diminishing reservations, where it was necessary that they should be fed and clothed by the government. The rapidity of this movement was phenomenal and there was a corresponding increase in the number of Indian agents and in the amount of money and goods which they handled. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, George W. Manypenny, reported in 1856 that fifty-two treaties had been made with Indian tribes since March 4, 1853, and that the jurisdiction of Indian agents had been extended over an additional area of from four to six thousand square miles. This increase made necessary the creation of thirteen new agencies and nine sub-agencies.²

Some of these districts to which an agent was assigned were of great size. Thomas S. Twiss, Indian agent for the Upper Platte, reported in 1856 that his territory extended approximately from the one hundredth to the one hundred and seventh degree of longitude and from the thirty-ninth to the forty-fourth parallel of latitude. This agency was about three hundred and fifty miles square and contained about 122,500 square miles — an area equal to that of the New England States, New York, and New Jersey combined. Most of the territory, however, was unproductive, except when irrigated, and contained a population of only one person to every twenty-five square miles. The whites consisted of about one hundred traders and employees, and about four hundred troops at the military posts at

² *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1856, p. 20.*

the crossing of the North Platte and at Fort Laramie. Agent Twiss, in common with most of the men who were responsible for the care of the Indians, complained of the character of the whites who resided among the tribesmen. In his estimation they were not "the pioneers of civilization or settlements, but emphatically fugitives from both."³ This agency had neither schools, missionaries, nor such industrial assistants as farmers and blacksmiths. From his headquarters at Drips's Trading Post, the agent supervised the wandering bands of Indians, delivered the goods given to them, and attempted to keep them at peace with their neighbors and with the United States government; but there was no means of enforcing his suggestions except by the use of troops. On account of the extent of territory Agent Twiss recommended the establishment of four centers where the Indians might be collected for the distribution of annuities, for trade, and for education. These centers—each of which was to consist of an agency building, a farm, and a trading-post—were to be located as follows: for the Arapahoes and Cheyennes, on Cache la Poudre River, near St. Vrain's fort on the South Fork of the Platte; for the Oglala Sioux, at the fork of Horse and Bear Creeks, forty-five miles southeast of Fort Laramie; for the Brulé Sioux, at the head of White River; and for the Crow and Snake tribes and the upper band of the Minnecoujoux, at the bridge crossing the North Platte, near the mouth of the Sweetwater. He also recommended that Indian traders should be encouraged to farm, believing that their example would be more powerful among their Indian customers than the instructions of the paid farmers.⁴

The vast amount of money required for the operation of

³ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1856, pp. 88, 94, 96.

⁴ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1856, pp. 97, 98.

the Indian Department now began to attract the attention of Congress and the country at large. An act of March 3, 1853, made the taking of a receipt for a larger amount than had been paid out an embezzlement;⁵ but conviction was difficult, since the agents were located where they did not come under the direct supervision of the government and among people whose testimony could not be relied upon. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs reported in 1856 that claims for large sums of money had been made against the government on drafts drawn by California agents and sub-agents. These were supposed to have been issued in return for beef and flour, and Congress had already appropriated \$242,036.25 for one lot of these drafts which were all without legal authority. Moreover, there was no satisfactory evidence that the supplies had ever been issued to the Indians.⁶ Senator Crittenden of Kentucky asserted that the appropriation for this department alone, for the year 1857-1858, was equal to the amount required for all the expenses of the government during Washington's administration; while Senator Bell of Tennessee pointed out that the appropriation for that year called for \$700,000 for Indian affairs in Washington and Oregon alone, exclusive of the regular salaries and annuities, and this did not include any of the expenses of military operations. What became of all this money? Senator Houston declared during this same debate that out of \$110,000,000 or \$115,000,000 appropriated for the Indians since 1789, the Indians themselves had never received more than \$20,000,000 worth of advantages.⁷

An attempt was made to prevent dishonesty in the distribution of annuities by providing that the superintendents should perform this duty, since it was argued that the agent

⁵ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. X, p. 239.

⁶ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1856, p. 20.

⁷ *Congressional Globe*, 3rd Sess., 34th Congress, 1856-1857, pp. 483, 489, 533.

was often alone and there were no witnesses, except the Indians and the traders, none of whom could be relied upon. Senator Houston's answer to this proposition was: "If it is necessary to have a superintendent to guard the conduct of the agent, it is necessary to dismiss that agent, and send a man who requires no guardian to conserve his integrity." He also argued that this plan would not prevent all opportunities for graft; and he explained one common form of cheating the Indians. The agents did not draw the annuity money from the treasury but gave the Indians certificates, which they quickly squandered in trade for only a small part of their value, greatly to the profit of the traders and residents at the agency.⁸

The agent of that time was contrasted rather unfavorably with the agent of former times in a speech by this same Senator. "In former times, when I was a boy", he said, "I recollect the character of the agents whom you sent among the Indians. They were men who stood deservedly high. The man who was then intrusted with the functions of an Indian agent, was an honest man. He was not driven there as a refuge from home; he was not placed in his position by political or family influence; he was placed in it on account of his qualifications for serving the Government with fidelity, and protecting and vindicating the rights of the Indians from imposition." Of the typical agent sent out from the East, with avarice as his chief motive, he said: "He views the Indian as his victim, and the United States as his pursuer."⁹

The ideal agent declared Senator Houston, was a man who was honest, who had had frontier training, and who was

⁸ *Congressional Globe*, 3rd Sess., 34th Congress, 1856-1857, pp. 474, 475, 533, 534.

⁹ *Congressional Globe*, 3rd Sess., 34th Congress, 1856-1857, p. 533.

friendly to the Indians. The difficulty seemed to be that such men were hard to find and even when one could be found, there was likely to be some political favorite anxious to receive the appointment. Men who received their appointment through such influence were often failures in the East; and it became the custom to play practical jokes on new agents of this type because of their ignorance of frontier conditions.

One of the agents at this time fulfilled the requirements of Senator Houston — at least as far as experience among the Indians was concerned. This was Christopher Carson, the “Kit” Carson of western romance. He became agent for the Apaches and Utes under the superintendent of New Mexico in 1854, the year of the adoption of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. Located at Taos, this unlettered guide of the western explorers and fur traders struggled with his monthly reports and with the various problems of the Indians — the former duty appearing to him much the more formidable. Here he remained at a salary of \$1000 a year until 1861. The residence of the agent was a one-story adobe house with a veranda along the front, and his official quarters were on the south side of the plaza, in “a single room in the row of adobes”. But the Indians were so sure of their agent’s friendship that they visited the home as well as the office. Part of the time the agency reports were given orally at Santa Fé; part of the time they were written at Carson’s dictation by a young soldier, Smith H. Simpson.¹⁰ His reports were short and add nothing to the reports of other agents: they contained a recommendation that the Indians be segregated and taught industries, and comments on the evils of intemperance among the Indians. The incidents related were the commonplace events of agency life — an

¹⁰ Sabin’s *Kit Carson Days*, pp. 362, 363, 366, 367, 368.

occasional murder, a horse-stealing raid, and efforts to compel restitution.¹¹

Many of the positions in the Indian service were desirable, both on account of the salaries paid and the opportunities for graft. For example, when the office of Superintendent of Indian Affairs for California was created in 1852, the salary was not to exceed \$4000, while his clerk might receive as much as \$2,500. In 1855 an appropriation of \$12,000 was made for the pay of the three Indian agents there; \$28,850 for incidental expenses, including the traveling expenses of the agents; \$54,300 for the payment of such employees as physicians, smiths, and carpenters; and \$125,000 for the removal of the Indians to three military reservations.¹² Texas, the adopted child of the United States, seems to have received less for the care of the Indian tribes within its borders than most of the other western States. Senator Rusk declared in 1857 that there were no permanent Indian agents in his State (Texas) and that only \$15,000 was appropriated annually for special agents and presents.¹³ Even in the East during the fifties there seems to have been a revival of interest in the Indians, or perhaps it was a desire for more offices to fill. At any rate an act approved on March 3, 1855, authorized the Secretary of the Interior to appoint agents for the Indians in New York, for an agency at Green Bay, and for the Seminoles, fixing their salaries at \$1000 each.¹⁴

One of the rather remarkable features of Indian administration was the comparative safety of these government agents. This was due unquestionably to the knowledge

¹¹ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1857, pp. 279, 280.

¹² *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. X, pp. 2, 3, 675, 698.

¹³ *Congressional Globe*, 3rd Sess., 34th Congress, 1856-1857, p. 482.

¹⁴ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. X, p. 687.

that any harm to the agent would be followed by swift retribution; but even hostile bands, already under the displeasure of the government, seem not to have tried to harm the agents. Oftentimes these men lived on the reservations without any other white men near them, and their families often accompanied them; yet even in the absence of the agent, his wife and children were unmolested. Occasionally there was an exception to this rule. A Washington agent, who had been sent to investigate a charge of murder, was killed by the tribe to which the murderers belonged, and his body and that of his horse were burned.¹⁵ But as a rule, even when the agent was unpopular and was accused of unnecessary severity to the Indians, as in the case of the Umatilla agent, William H. Barnhart, the Indians did not attempt to obtain revenge by assassination.

The period of the Civil War was marked by general discontent among the Indians, by uprisings against the white settlers, and by hostility between tribes or divisions of tribes. Uncivilized and hostile bands moved restlessly about on the northwestern frontier and threatened to avenge their real or fancied wrongs by massacres of the whites. In spite of this attitude on the part of the Indians and amid the responsibilities of the War, Congress found time to pass new laws concerning Indian affairs. An act of February 13, 1862, emphasized the duty of the agents and officers to seize liquor in the Indian country and provided a penalty of two years imprisonment for anyone found guilty of violating the liquor exclusion law. During the following July another act was passed providing for the division of California into a northern and southern superintendency, the superintendents of which were to receive \$3,000 each. No goods were to be purchased by the department or its agents except upon the written requisition of

¹⁵ *Congressional Globe*, 3rd Sess., 34th Congress, 1856-1857, p. 388.

the superintendents and after public bids such as were required for other supplies. An appropriation in this act included \$18,970.07 to cover the amount due to the Otoes and Missouris, which had been unaccounted for by the late agent, W. W. Dennison. A number of employees were provided for in addition to the agent and interpreter. The Walla Walla agency, for example, was to employ a superintendent of farming, one farmer, two millers, a blacksmith, a wagon and plough maker, a carpenter, a physician, and two teachers. The sum of \$11,200 was granted for their services.¹⁶

An account of conditions on a far western Indian reservation at this time is to be found in Davenport's *Recollections of an Indian Agent*.¹⁷ According to this memoir, the former agent, W. H. Barnhart, had been accused of fraud and of killing an Indian without sufficient reason. Consequently the writer, T. W. Davenport, was sent to take charge as special Indian agent. William H. Rector, the superintendent for Oregon, gave him brief instructions—including a recommendation that, if possible, he appoint as teacher a man named Pinto who had moved to the agency with a large family, having been promised a position by several prominent politicians.

Upon his arrival at the Umatilla agency in northeastern Oregon, Mr. Davenport presented his credentials to the former agent and took possession. He found Mr. Barnhart's brother acting as farmer at a salary of \$1000. One of the employees who appeared on the reports as a teacher at a salary of \$1000 was acting as the agent's secretary, no school having been established. This private secretary

¹⁶ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XII, pp. 339, 524, 529.

¹⁷ Davenport's *Recollections of an Indian Agent* in *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, Vol. VIII, pp. 1-41, 95-128, 231-264.

whose name was Matty Davenport remarked on leaving that the position of agent was easily worth \$4000 a year and that he could show the new agent how to make it yield that amount. That this was not an unusual proposition is evident from the statement attributed to Horace Greeley, who was asked how an Indian agent receiving \$1500 a year could save \$40,000 in four years, and replied: "It is above my arithmetic." Accounts at the agency were indefinite. The amounts of such things as grain and medicine could only be estimated, and but one of the five plows supposed to be there could be found. After the new agent had given a receipt for the oxen turned over to him by his predecessor, some white farmers appeared and proved that the oxen belonged to them. They had been collected from the range and presented as government property in the place of the agency oxen which could not be produced. The government farmer, who was agent Barnhart's brother, left when the agency changed hands and his place was given to a man who had been working as a field laborer at \$35 per month. The physician, who might have been retained, refused to stay unless his wife were appointed to the position of "teacher", left vacant by the departure of Matty Davenport, Barnhart's private secretary; and so another field laborer who had had some medical training was made agency physician — much to the dissatisfaction of the Indians. The man Pinto, who had arrived at the reservation some time before with the promises of some politicians, was given the position as teacher, although there was no school.

At this time most of the Indians were absent from the reservation without leave. Their chief wealth consisted in horses — one Cayuse millionaire possessing three thousand head of ponies. This form of property was so satisfactory to the Indians that they resisted all efforts to educate them as farmers.

The agency proper consisted of two log houses, half a dozen log huts, an open shed for machinery, a council house, carpenter's and blacksmiths' shops, and a farm of about one hundred acres, worked largely by white employees. A mill, for which \$40,000 had been paid, had been erected on the Umatilla River several miles distant from the agency. About forty miles away was Fort Walla Walla, where a detachment of troops was stationed.

One of the first duties of the new agent was the securing of bids for furnishing goods for the Indians, but the merchants of Portland where he went for this purpose, would not believe that bids would be treated fairly. They declared that the agent always bought the goods where he wanted to, and refused to submit bids. T. W. Davenport, the agent, says of this feature of his duties: "A person coming newly into the office of Indian agent would need no other proof of the general rascality of agents than the Governmental regulations to be observed by them in purchasing supplies. All sorts of lets and hindrances to dishonesty have been adopted, publications, contracts, certificates, vouchers, oaths before judicial officers; but they have been of slight avail in preventing frauds."¹⁸

An interesting side light on the relations between the civil agents and the military officers is also given in this memoir. Two drunken Indians had robbed and wounded a miner, who reported the act to Colonel Steinberger at Fort Walla Walla and this officer sent some soldiers to arrest the culprits. When they could not be found, the soldiers arrested a chief, claiming that he had enabled the accused Indians to escape. He was taken to the fort and sentenced to be hanged on the following Friday; although the justice of such a punishment is not apparent, since the miner was not badly injured,

¹⁸ Davenport's *Recollections of an Indian Agent in The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, Vol. VIII, p. 18.

and the chief was not the one charged with the crime. When the agent, who had been absent, learned what had occurred he drove to the fort and, according to his story, convinced the officer of the chief's innocence and secured his release. The two guilty Indians were later arrested by the agent and sent to the fort where they were hanged — as he claimed — without a trial.¹⁹

Mr. Davenport remained here as agent until 1863, serving less than a year and was succeeded by William H. Barnhart, the former agent. The report made by him in 1865 is accompanied by one signed M. Davenport as teacher, although the report shows that there was neither a suitable building for a school nor any children who would attend. Evidently Agent Barnhart's former private secretary had returned.²⁰ Nearly twenty years later an attempt was made to recover \$115.75 from the bond of Mr. Barnhart, since this amount had remained unaccounted for by him. The Circuit Court of the United States decided on an appeal that the bond, which had been made out for W. H. Barnhart as agent in Washington, did not cover any deficiency in Oregon, although the location of the agency had not been changed.²¹

Other details of the methods of agents and the features of agency life are to be found in the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1865. According to this account it had become the custom for retiring agents to take all the papers and records of the agency away with them. Many of them had also been interested financially in the Indian trade through traders' licenses, which they had the authority to issue. The Commissioner asked that this practice be made a penal offence. The assignment of agents

¹⁹ Davenport's *Recollections of an Indian Agent in The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, Vol. VIII, pp. 24-35.

²⁰ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1865, p. 490.

²¹ *United States vs. Barnhart*, 17 Federal Reporter, 579-582.

was in great confusion, owing to the division of Territories and the formation of new ones. Two of the agents who had been provided for the Territory of Washington were then in Idaho and Montana. One of the agents appointed for Idaho was in Montana in charge of the Flathead Indians, whose agent was paid out of the appropriation for the Washington superintendency. Only three of the agents from New Mexico reported; probably, as the Commissioner explains, because they were unable to read or write English. This report also mentions one of the few instances in which an agent opposed a missionary — at least openly. Agent Davis at Green Bay reported that he had been obliged to order the Catholic priest from the reservation, because he insisted on holding public funerals for his converts who had died of small-pox.²²

A condition similar to that at the Umatilla Agency was reported at the Crow Creek Agency in Dakota Territory by Mr. J. W. Stone. On taking charge he found seventeen wagons, two cows as draft animals, a dilapidated mill, some sawed and unsawed timber, a powder magazine in which the powder had been ruined by moisture, and some beef spoiling in the snow. The office was poorly equipped. A stove and desk were needed and there were neither records nor blanks upon which to keep them. The agency farm had been partly surrounded by a fence — much of which consisted only of posts — and contained one hundred and seventy-five acres of corn and one and a half acres of potatoes. A school was in operation at this agency, with three teachers and two hundred and ninety-seven children. Here again there was friction between the agent and the commander of the military force, stationed near by to enforce the laws. The agents had gradually developed a system of giving passes to Indians who left the reservation, although they had no legal author-

²² *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1865, pp. 1, 2, 4, 19, 437, 438.

ity for doing so. Major R. H. Rose of Fort Wadsworth refused to recognize the right of Agent Stone to give the Indians this permission and wrote to him concerning the matter, closing with the words: "any of the Indians from Fort Thompson or Missouri river found east of the James river will be treated as hostile, *and I take no prisoners.*"²³ The officer was basing his claim to the control of these Indians on the understanding that the Indians on the reservation were in charge of the agent; off the reservation, they were subject to military law.

Frequently the agents became the champions of the Indians in opposition to the soldiers. After the fearful Sand Creek massacre of Cheyenne Indians by troops from Fort Lyon under Colonel Chivington in 1864, Samuel G. Colley, the agent, protested against it as unjustified; and the investigation proved that he was right. Yet the agents were usually unwilling to be without military support and wanted troops stationed somewhere near the reservation, although they complained of the licentious conduct of the soldiers. In 1866 the Oregon superintendent wrote concerning the removal of the troops from his territory:

Thus the Coast reservation, on which are four thousand Indians, is without a single soldier to enforce police regulations, preserve order, or punish offences. This is not only unwise, but it is hazardous in the extreme. The agent is powerless to control the Indians, except by moral suasion, and this they oftentimes will not submit to.²⁴

The jealousy between the agents and the army officers had a deeper foundation, however, than the personal differences of the men who happened to be stationed near each other. Many people believed that it was a mistake to trans-

²³ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1865, pp. 219-221.

²⁴ *Report of the Joint Special Committee on the Condition of the Indian Tribes*, 1867, p. 52; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1866, p. 79.

fer the administration of Indian affairs from the War Department to the Department of the Interior. The chief argument of these people, many of whom were friends of the Indians, was the graft which had become so prevalent. It was not denied that a great deal of dishonesty existed, and it is not strange that it was so. The majority of the minor officials were appointed solely for political reasons and the "Spoils System" was recognized as the code of politicians. Colonel William Bent, an Indian trader, in giving his testimony concerning the Sand Creek massacre explained how the Indians were sometimes robbed of their annuities by the agent. An Indian brought a pony or some other gift to the agent and of course expected a like present in return. The agent gave him annuity goods and kept the pony as his own property. The diplomatic Indian thus got more than his share of the annuity, while somebody else got nothing. Another method by which agents acquired money illegally was by speculating in Indian goods, in partnership with traders who were often relatives. Colonel Bent testified that the son of Samuel G. Colley, the Cheyenne agent, had come out to that country the year after his father was appointed agent, with only about thirty or forty cows and in two or three years had made from \$25,000 to \$30,000. Much of this money, Colonel Bent asserted, was made by selling Indian annuity goods; and the trader declared that one of his men had found the top of a box, marked "U. S. Upper Arkansas Agency", in the younger Colley's lodge. Other agents were accused of allowing traders to sell Indian goods on shares, and then when the time came for distributing the goods, of giving the Indians what was left. The necessary vouchers that the duty had been performed were easily obtained from some of the chiefs.²⁵ The profit

²⁵ *Report of the Joint Special Committee on the Condition of the Indian Tribes, 1867, p. 95.*

to be made in this way at a remote agency where there was little chance of detection is evident from the amounts appropriated for the various tribes. For example, in 1867 the sum of \$78,700 was appropriated for the Nez Perces alone.²⁶

The advocates of the army also argued that officers could be detailed to act as agents and thus save the amount paid for the salaries of agents, but they did not explain how so many officers could be spared for this duty without adding to the number already commissioned. If the army had so many officers to spare, then it was evident that the administration of military affairs was extravagant. Again, it was asserted, and with a great show of probability, that military commanders were a picked class of men, with high standards of honor and were not likely to be interested in trade. Political influence had little to do with their appointment, and since as a rule they expected to remain in the service permanently, they would not be tempted to risk honor and promotion for the sake of graft. One Senator even argued that the only use the country had for an army at that time was to take care of the Indians; and consequently army officers might as well perform that duty directly. This plan, it was urged, would prevent friction between the agent in charge and the officer responsible for the conduct of affairs when the civil administration failed.²⁷

Moreover, it was claimed that the Indians had more respect for severity than for leniency, and a military officer would not have tolerated the answer given by a Cheyenne chief to a Quaker agent concerning some horses claimed by a white man: "I have no doubt that this stock *did* belong to the young man, but it belongs to *me* now. I took it when I was at war, and I never give back anything I take when I

²⁶ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XIV, pp. 503, 504.

²⁷ Leupp's *The Indian and his Problem*, pp. 105, 106; *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Sess., 35th Congress, Part I, p. 790; Manypenny's *Our Indian Wards*, pp. 342-394.

am at war.” Since the position of a military officer was usually permanent, it was believed that the frequent changing of the agents would not be necessary, and the constant succession of greedy officials with pockets to be filled would be prevented. Red Cloud once expressed his idea of the situation in the following words: “I don’t see why the Government changes our Agents. When one Agent gets rich at his trade of looking after us and has about all he wants, he may stop his stealing and leave us the property which belongs to us, if he keeps his place.”²⁸

On the other hand, the advocates of the employment of civilian agents argued that the purpose of maintaining agents among the Indians was the development of respect for industry and civil law; and a military officer, because of his training and strict adherence to rules, was ill adapted for such work. This view of the question was well expressed by Commissioner E. P. Smith in his report for 1875. “So far, then, as eleven-twelfths of the Indian agencies are concerned,” he said, “the question of putting them under the control of the War Department has no more pertinency than that of putting the alms-house and city schools under the metropolitan police. A standing army and an ordinary Indian agency have no common end in view.”²⁹ Besides the army did not have enough officers to spare for this work and even if an officer proved to be a successful agent he might be ordered away at any moment. Friends of the civil administration denied that military officers were more successful in handling the Indians than were the agents. In the debate which occurred over this proposed change about 1856, Senator Houston had declared that the army should be subordinate to the civil officers. This argument was supported by an incident related by Agent Twiss in his report

²⁸ Moorehead's *The American Indian*, pp. 317, 318.

²⁹ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1875, p. 19.

for that year. Two Indians approached a mail carrier to beg for tobacco, as they claimed. He fired upon them and in turn was wounded by an arrow, but escaped. The following morning troops from Fort Kearny attacked the Indians, killing six of them. Later the Indians retaliated by killing some white settlers. In this case the agent maintained that the officer was not justified in his severity and had made the situation worse instead of better.³⁰

The question of improving the moral tone of the Indian service was discussed by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in his report for 1868. He admitted that many of the agents were corrupt and that they pocketed the funds appropriated by the government, leaving the Indians to starve, and thus provoking such Indian wars as the Sioux had carried on in Minnesota. The remedy was not, however, a substitution of military authority for civil authority, but a change in the personnel of the agents. To accomplish this, he suggested that Congress should set a date, not later than February 1, 1869, on which the offices of superintendents and agents should be vacated, so that only the worthy ones could be reappointed.³¹ This recommendation was not adopted and it is difficult to see how he expected to eliminate political influence in these special appointments, when it could not be done in the regular routine. Another suggestion frequently made by the men in charge of the office was to increase the salaries of agents. They declared that it was impossible to get men with proper qualifications who were willing to take their families away from civilization and education for \$1500 a year. Either they would not go or they would supplement the salary by dishonest methods.³²

³⁰ *Congressional Globe*, 3rd Sess., 34th Congress, 1856-1857, p. 533; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1856, pp. 99, 100.

³¹ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1875, pp. 18, 19.

³² *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1873, pp. 9, 10.

So great was the demand for a change of some kind, and so notorious was the mal-administration of Indian agencies, that several bills were introduced providing for the re-transfer of the Indian Office to the War Department, but they failed to pass. The only concession to this demand was the plan adopted at the beginning of Grant's administration of filling the positions of Indian agent — especially among the more distant and hostile tribes — by army officers who were responsible to the Secretary of the Interior for their agency work. During the year 1869–1870 out of seventy agents who reported, forty-nine held commissions in the army. Nine of the fifteen superintendents were likewise military officers, three of the others being Governors of Territories and ex officio Superintendents of Indian Affairs.³³ The remaining positions, especially those in the northern and central superintendencies, which included most of the tribes east of the Rocky Mountains, were filled by nominees of the two divisions of the Society of Friends. Thus the service presented the curious spectacle of representatives of war and exponents of peace serving in the same capacity. This arrangement was supplemented by the agreement that Indians who remained on the reservation were under the protection of the agents, while those who refused to remain in the places assigned to them were subject to military law. It was believed that this solution of the problem would be successful, but it was destined to a short life. By an act of July 15, 1870, Congress prohibited the employment of army officers on the active list in any civil capacity and hence it was necessary for the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to determine upon some other plan.³⁴

³³ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in the Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1870–1871, Vol. I, pp. 477–480.*

³⁴ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in the Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1869–1870, p. 447; United States Statutes at Large, Vol. XVI, p. 319.*

One of the army officers who served as Indian agent at this time has written an account of his experiences during the eighteen months of agency duty. He received notice of his assignment to the Whetstone Creek agency in Dakota Territory in June, 1869, and immediately set out on his long journey. On the way he met General Harney, the noted Indian fighter, who informed him that he did not intend to return to the Indians as he had made too many promises which he could not carry out. He also had an interview with the Governor of the Territory, who was also Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and learned that this officer knew little about the wild Sioux in his district and had never visited the Whetstone Creek agency. Upon his arrival at Whetstone Creek, Captain Poole found the agency located on the west bank of the Missouri River. The site was made up of a series of "benches", the first extending back about eighty rods from the river; while the second, some six or eight feet higher, ran back to the bluffs which encircled the agency on the west. Two small streams, Whetstone Creek and Scalp Creek, had cut channels through the bluffs, but contained running water only after rains. This "pocket of land" contained about two thousand acres of rich soil. On the outer edge of the second bench the new agent found the government buildings. These were all of logs and consisted, as usual, of a carpenter's shop, a blacksmith's shop, two store houses, a building used for both office and council room, a dispensary, a barn and stables, and, nearer the river, a saw mill. Back of these were some log huts, including a trader's store, and between these and the bluffs the space was filled in with Indian tepees. The Indians, however, were not limited to this spot for the Sioux reservation extended westward to the Wind River mountains and contained about thirty million acres. The Sioux at this time numbered about twenty-eight thousand people, so that each Indian had about a thousand acres.

The agency was well supplied with all sorts of agricultural implements, but the only men who used them were the government employees and some white men who had married Indian squaws. While their white relatives were engaged in farming the Indians merely looked on. The season had not been favorable, however, for the drought had left the wheat only five or six inches high; the grasshoppers had eaten the corn; and potato bugs had descended upon the potato vines.

Life on the Whetstone reservation was not unlike that at other agencies. Councils with the chiefs were held, rations were distributed, and disputes were settled whenever possible. The rations given to these Indians amounted to about \$30,000 a month, and the leaders were constantly insisting that they were not sufficient. One Sioux brave, dissatisfied with the goods provided him, announced his resentment by shooting into the log house occupied by the agent and another officer who was present to witness the distribution of the goods.

One of the duties which fell to the lot of Agent Poole was the conducting of a party of Indian leaders to Washington. Two chiefs, Spotted Tail and Swift Bear, two warriors, and an interpreter made up the party. The journey, by way of Sioux City, Chicago, and Pittsburg, was made partly by stage and partly by train. Pullman cars, modern hotels, napkins, theaters and other novelties were met with the same outward stolidity. At Washington the agent accompanied his charges on sight-seeing tours, and to theaters, receptions, and official interviews. The guests were feasted on strawberries and ice cream by Mrs. Sherman; they were taken to the gallery of the House of Representatives to watch that body vote an Indian appropriation bill; they were even taken down the Potomac River to visit Mount Vernon, but all this magnificence did not convince them of

the superiority of the white man's manner of living. The only request made of the President was the promise that the agency should be moved back from the Missouri River and when this was granted they were quite ready to return to their own prairies.³⁵

In the meantime an attempt had been made to check the swindling in connection with Indian contracts, by an act approved on April 10, 1869, which authorized the President to appoint a Board of Indian Commissioners to consist of ten citizens, serving without pay. This board was to exercise joint control with the Secretary of the Interior over the disbursements for the Indian Department.³⁶ Under this advisory body at the time of its organization were eleven superintendents and fifty-nine agents. The members of the board began an investigation of conditions in the Indian Office and their opinion of the Indian agent in general was expressed as follows: "The agent, appointed to be their friend and counsellor, business manager, and the almoner of the government bounties, frequently went among them only to enrich himself in the shortest possible time, at the cost of the Indians, and spend the largest available sum of the government money with the least ostensible beneficial result."³⁷

During the general investigation of the agencies which occurred during this attempt at reform, the report of the Washington superintendent concerning two agencies in his district may be taken as illustrative of some of the conditions found. Both of these agencies had been in charge of civilians and were now filled by army officers. Of the Quinaielt agency the superintendent reported that the employees

³⁵ For an account of this agency, see Poole's *Among the Sioux of Dakota*.

³⁶ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XVI, p. 40.

³⁷ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in the Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1869-1870*, p. 490; *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XVI, p. 13.

were honest and industrious, and were not being paid for time spent away from the agency. Accounts were well kept and annuities distributed promptly. In fact the favorable report of the new agent had so attracted the superintendent's attention that he had taken pains to verify the report and had concluded that the former sub-agent, Henry Winsor, was really "*an honest Indian agent*".

On the other hand, conditions on the Dwamish and Tulalip reservations were reported as deplorable. The former sub-agent had been absent for a month when his successor arrived at the agency and never appeared to turn over any money to Captain Hill, the new sub-agent. No property worth mentioning was found, there was no money on hand, and vouchers to the amount of \$14,000 were outstanding. These were statements signed by the agent or sub-agent to the effect that goods to that amount had been sold to the government and were yet unpaid for. No annuities had been distributed since 1865 and although \$30,000 had been donated for benevolent purposes since that year, no evidence of its proper expenditure was on hand. Even the agency oxen had been sold by the sub-agent, and \$2,500 was due to the Indians for labor. In fact, declared the superintendent, no one except the late sub-agent, H. C. Hale, could have conducted affairs so badly.³⁸ A study of some other agencies, however, does not substantiate Colonel Ross's conclusion on this point.

The powers of the Board of Indian Commissioners were further defined by an act passed in 1871, which forbade the payment of more than fifty percent of an account until it had been audited by the Commissioners. In addition to this provision the act included an appropriation for eight superintendents: two east of the Rocky Mountains and one each

³⁸ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in the Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1869-1870*, pp. 575, 576.

for Oregon, Washington, New Mexico, California, Arizona, and Montana. A total of sixty-two agents received \$93,600 in salaries. One section of the law settled the question of the independence of the Indian tribes by providing that "no Indian nation or tribe within the territory of the United States shall be acknowledged or recognized as an Independent nation, tribe, or power with whom the United States may contract by treaty". Treaties already made, however, were not to be affected by this change. Francis A. Walker, a former Commissioner of Indian Affairs, wrote of this change in the status of the Indian. "Under the traditional policy of the United States," he said, "the Indian agent was a minister resident to a 'domestic dependent nation.' The Act of March 3, 1871, destroys the nationality, and leaves the agent in the anomalous position of finding no authority within the tribe to which he can address himself, yet having in himself no legal authority over the tribe or the members of it." An attempt was made to prevent the connivance of the agents with swindlers by providing that any agent who made or advised the making of a contract with Indians concerning lands or annuities, except in writing and with the approval of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Secretary of the Interior, should be removed from office, fined \$1000, imprisoned for six months and disqualified from holding any similar position.³⁹

Laws, however, were not sufficient to bring about a reformation in Indian administration: the right kind of men were needed. Conditions during the year 1869-1870 seem to have been unusually good, if the official report may be believed. Commissioner Parker paid the following tribute to the men who served as Indian agents during that year: "Of those belonging to the 'Society of Friends,' I may confident-

³⁹ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XVI, pp. 544, 566, 568, 570, 571; Walker's *The Indian Question*, p. 117.

ly say, that their course and policy has been highly promotive of the welfare and happiness of the tribes under their charge. . . . The military gentlemen, also, who last year were detailed for duty as Indian agents by direction of the President, have faithfully, and with much credit to themselves, efficiently managed the trust devolved upon them, and it is to be regretted that they can not be continued in the service."⁴⁰ Since army officers could no longer be employed and the nomination of agents by the Society of Friends had worked well, the men in charge of the Indian department determined to extend this method of selecting agents and to invite other religious denominations to nominate the agents, with the understanding that they should take charge of the religious work in the agencies in which men of their choice were employed as agents.

In accordance with this plan of combining governmental supervision of the Indians with missionary work, the various agencies were assigned to the religious bodies as follows:

CHURCH	NUMBER OF AGENCIES	NUMBER OF INDIANS
Hicksite Friends	6	6,598
Orthodox Friends	10	17,724
Baptists	5	40,800
Presbyterians	9	38,069
Christians	2	8,287
Methodists	14	54,473
Catholics	7	17,856
Reformed Dutch	5	8,118
Congregational	3	14,476
Episcopalian	8	26,929
American Board of Foreign Missions	1	1,496
Unitarians	2	3,800
Lutherans	1	273

⁴⁰ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in the Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1870-1871*, pp. 473, 474.

The agency assigned to the Lutheran Church was the Sac and Fox Agency in Iowa. The organizations having more than one agency were usually assigned stations in various parts of the country, although the two sects of Friends were practically in control of the northern and central superintendencies. The Commissioner believed that this method of appointing agents would be superior to the old political system, both in the class of men secured and in the longer tenure of office. Under the old régime, the agents had been changed every few months or at least every two or three years.⁴¹

This system of appointing agents inaugurated what promised to be a new era in the administration of Indian affairs. Would the churches be able to do what the politicians had failed to do? In spite of the optimism of the early reports, the success of the plan was by no means assured. If, as the men in charge insisted, the salaries of the agents were too low to attract able and honest men, where were the churches to find candidates for positions except among the missionaries? The qualities which made successful missionaries were not always those required of an executive officer. And even if the churches succeeded in finding the right men, what guarantee was there that political influence would not reassert itself in filling these positions? It was not likely that office-seekers would immediately surrender the opportunities offered by the Indian service for enriching themselves at the expense of people who were not competent to insist upon their rights. The two decades following the year 1871 show how powerful was this political pressure; and besides there was constant agitation for the reestablishment of military supervision. The plan, moreover, was not one which was based on legislative enactment. It was a device of the administrative officers and as such, depended en-

⁴¹ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1872*, pp. 72, 73, 74.

tirely upon the attitude of the man who happened to be in charge of Indian affairs.

INDIAN AGENTS FROM 1871 TO 1892

The report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1871 shows that six of the superintendencies had been discontinued. Seventy-four agents were on the list, all receiving \$1500 each, except the three in California, who received \$1800. Sub-agents were paid \$1000 a year. In conformity with the law of the previous year, however, no army officers were serving in the Indian Department. Not only were new agencies established for tribes which had hitherto been outside the scope of any agency, but the locations of existing agencies were sometimes changed as the shifting of the Indians went on. The cost of establishing such an agency was considerable. Charles F. Roedel, the agent for the Utes and Apaches, where "Kit" Carson had been stationed, recommended the following appropriations for the new agency at Cimarron:

Agent's house	\$2000	Farmer's house	\$1500
Store house	1000	Blacksmith's house	1500
Physician's house	1800	Grist and saw mill	10,000
Teacher's house and		Stable and corral	1000
school house	2500	Carpenter's shop	500
Miller's house	1500	Blacksmith's shop	400 ⁴²
Carpenter's house	1500		

Additional changes in the system of Indian administration were made by the act of Congress approved on February 14, 1873, which provided for five new officers called inspectors, who were to be appointed by the President, with the consent of the Senate, for a period of four years. Each inspector was to receive a salary of \$3000 a year and expenses, and it was made the duty of these officers to examine the accounts of all agents and superintendents twice a year,

⁴² *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1871, pp. 6, 9-11, 398.*

so arranging the work that the same inspector did not examine the same agency both times. In order to carry out their work they were given authority to call witnesses and examine them under oath. If conditions warranted they might suspend agents and superintendents. The President was authorized to discontinue any superintendencies or agencies which were considered unnecessary, and four of the eight superintendencies were to be abolished after June 30, 1873. The agent for the Sacs and Foxes in Iowa was to live near or among the Indians and to devote his entire time to their education and training in the mechanic arts.⁴³ The approximate number of Indians under the charge of the seventy-three agents at this time was 150,000. About 95,000 more were occasionally under the influence of the agents, while 55,000 Indians never appeared at any of the government agencies.⁴⁴

During the following year two more superintendencies were discontinued, leaving only the central and northern superintendencies. Agents were to distribute annuities to able-bodied, male Indians between the ages of eighteen and forty-five only in return for work at a reasonable rate, and supplies were to be furnished to the heads of families in proportion to the number of members and for only one week at a time. The agent at Tama, Iowa, was to receive \$500 a year if he resided near enough to care for his charges every day, otherwise he was not to be paid. In an attempt to check the padding of the agency pay-rolls Congress limited the amount which might be used for the salaries of the employees of an agency, exclusive of the agent and interpreter, to \$6000. Agents were required to swear that the employees named in their quarterly reports were actually engaged in work for the Indians for the entire time specified, and that

⁴³ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XVII, pp. 438, 463.

⁴⁴ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1872, pp. 15, 74.

they, themselves, did not receive any of the money paid to these subordinates, and were not interested in any government contract.⁴⁵ An act of March 3, 1875, increased the maximum amount which might be expended for salaries to \$10,000, provided the Secretary of the Interior approved; and Indians were to be employed wherever possible. Agents were required to keep itemized public accounts of their transactions and these records were not to be removed from the offices of the agents under penalty of a fine of from \$500 to \$1000 and disqualification from holding any other position as agent. The requirement that agencies must be inspected twice a year was repealed and the number of inspectors was reduced to three.⁴⁶ In spite of this change, however, the appropriations continued to provide for the salaries and expenses of five inspectors.

The law empowering the President to discontinue superintendencies and agencies which he considered unnecessary, appears to have been applied to the former rather than to the latter. The appropriation for 1876 recognized only one superintendent, the central, while the act of May 27, 1878, provided for none. Thus one grade in the Indian service was eliminated, for the inspectors, although they were supervisors, were really assistants to the Commissioner. The reports and appropriations also show a decrease in the number of agents, but this was not so marked. In 1878 the number of agents provided for was seventy-four; between 1883 and 1887 it was sixty; and by 1892 the number had been reduced to fifty-seven. According to the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Mr. T. J. Morgan, the number of agents and the statistics concerning their agencies in 1890 were as follows:

⁴⁵ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 146, 147, 176, 177.

⁴⁶ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 421, 422, 423, 449, 450, 451.

AGENCY	AREA IN		AMOUNT OF		
	SQ. MI.	POPULATION	BOND	ANNUAL DISBURSEMENT	SALARY
Black feet, Mont.	2,750	2,173	\$30,000	\$150,000	\$1,800
Cheyenne River, S. Dak	4,481	2,823	20,000	150,000	1,500
Cheyenne & Arapaho, Ok.	6,715	3,372	30,000	200,000	2,200
Colorado River, Arizona	470	840	15,000	20,000	1,500
Colville Agency, Wash.	5,348	2,421	20,000	30,000	1,500
Crow Creek and Lower Brulé, S. Dakota	1,708	2,084	25,000	120,000	1,800
Crow, Mont.	7,364	2,456	25,000	150,000	2,000
Devil's Lake, N. Dak.	432	2,480	15,000	20,000	1,200
Eastern Cherokee, N. C.	102	3,000	2,000	None	800
Flathead, Mont.	2,240	1,784	20,000	20,000	1,500
Fort Berthold, N. Dak.	4,550	1,183	20,000	30,000	1,500
Fort Belknap, Mont.	840	1,722	30,000	115,000	1,000
Fort Hall, Idaho	1,350½	1,493	20,000	30,000	1,500
Fort Peck, Mont.	2,775	1,842	40,000	165,000	2,000
Grand Ronde, Oregon	96	379	15,000	20,000	1,000
Green Bay, Wis.	483	3,164	30,000*	30,000	1,500
Hoopa Valley, Cal.	180	475	Army Officer		
Kiowa, etc., Oklahoma	5,801	4,121	30,000	200,000	2,000
Klamath, Oregon	1,650	835	10,000	30,000	1,100
Lemhi, Idaho	100	443	10,000	20,000	1,000
La Pointe, Wis.	748	4,778	20,000	25,000	2,000
Mescalero, N. Mex.	741	513	20,000	35,000	1,800
Mission Tule River, Cal.	432	4,056	25,000	25,000	1,600
Navajo, N. Mexico	16,741	15,000	20,000	25,000	2,000
Neah Bay, Wash.	36	696	10,000	15,000	1,000
Nevada, Nevada	1,001	973	10,000	20,000	1,500
New York, N. Y.	137	5,112	20,000	25,000	1,000
Nez Percés, Idaho	1,167	1,715	20,000	25,000	1,600
Omaha and Winnebago, Nebr.	124	2,385	25,000	40,000	1,600
Osage and Kaw, Oklahoma	2,453	1,778	125,000	500,000	1,800
Pima, Arizona	775	8,099	10,000	20,000	1,800
Pine Ridge, S. Dak.	4,930	5,701	50,000	300,000	2,200
Ponca, Pawnee, Otoe, and Oakland, Ok.	944	1,843	30,000	100,000	1,500
Pottawattamie and Great Nemaha, Kans.	196	1,016	40,000	75,000	1,000
Pueblo, N. Mex.	1,417	8,285	10,000	10,000	1,800
Puyallup, Wash.	364	2,051	25,000	40,000	1,600
Quapaw, Ind. T.	262	1,225	20,000	50,000	1,500
Round Valley, Cal.	159	582	15,000	10,000	1,500
Rosebud, S. Dak.	5,044	5,345	50,000	400,000	2,200
San Carlos, Ariz.	3,950	4,819	20,000	100,000	2,000
Southern Ute and Jacarilla, Col.	2,360	1,793	25,000	75,000	1,400

AGENCY	AREA IN		AMOUNT OF		
	SQ. MI.	POPULATION	BOND	ANNUAL DISBURSEMENT	SALARY
Sisseton, S. Dak.	1,235	1,509	20,000	25,000	1,500
Standing Rock, N. Dak.	4,176	4,096	50,000	250,000	1,700
Sac and Fox, Ok.	2,329	2,062	25,000	50,000	1,200
Sac and Fox, Iowa	2	399	20,000	20,000	1,000
Santee, Nebraska	2	1,378	20,000	50,000	1,200
Shoshone, Wyo.	3,660	1,658	25,000	75,000	1,500
Siletz, Oregon	351	571	15,000	20,000	1,200
Tongue River, Mont.	580	865	15,000	40,000	1,500
Tulalip, Wash.	27	1,212	10,000	10,000	1,000
Umatilla, Oregon	420	999	15,000	20,000	1,200
Union, Indian. T.	30,914	67,000	50,000	100,000	2,000
Uintah and Ouray, Utah	6,207	1,821	40,000	100,000	1,800
Warm Springs, Oregon	725	923	15,000	30,000	1,000
White Earth, Minn.	3,092	6,403	50,000	75,000	1,600
Western Shoshone, Nev.	488	587	10,000	20,000	1,500
Yakima, Washington	1,250	1,450	30,000	30,000	2,000
Yankton, S. Dakota	672	1,725	20,000	80,000	1,600

*Agent at Green Bay is required to file a special bond in the sum of \$100,000 to cover logging money.

Av.

Salary 1,533.33 1/3⁴⁷

This slight decrease in the number of agents did not mean, however, that the cost of administering Indian affairs was any less. The appropriations for the Indian Office grew steadily larger, being \$5,124,648.80 in 1882, \$6,083,851.37 for the year 1889-1890, and \$7,127,394.69 for the year 1890-1891.⁴⁸ Nor were the salaries of the agents increased to any extent. The increase in expenditures was used for the establishment of more schools; for the salaries of more employees, such as physicians, farmers, and teachers; and for more supplies for the Indians.

The matter of agents' salaries had been frequently discussed. Under the old system the salary was not the most

⁴⁷ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XX, p. 64; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1890, p. cxix.

⁴⁸ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1884, p. xviii; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1890, p. cxiii.

important financial inducement, but when the attempt was made to prevent dishonesty, the agent was forced to rely largely upon his salary and it thus became a matter of complaint. Commissioner Smith in 1876 strongly urged the payment of higher salaries to the men in the more difficult positions. In support of his suggestion he said :

The most important duties in the conduct of our Indian affairs are, and of necessity must be, performed by the agent. Not only are committed to him the conduct of the agency business proper, the erection and care of buildings, the supervision of farming and mechanical operations, the purchase and care of stock, the proper receipt and distribution of supplies, the management of schools, the keeping of accurate and complicated financial accounts, and the furnishing of information and advice as a basis of action by this office, but upon his skill, tact, and ability to influence and control his Indians, success in the administration of Indian affairs wholly depends. . . . A distinguished military officer, after long experience with Indians, states that to successfully manage one of the most important Indian agencies requires as high an order of capacity as to command an army.

The great want of the Indian service has always been thoroughly competent agents. The President has sought to secure proper persons for these important offices by inviting the several religious organizations, through their constituted authorities, to nominate to him men for whose ability, character, and conduct they are willing to vouch. I believe the churches have endeavored to perform this duty faithfully, and to a fair degree have succeeded ; but they experience great difficulty in inducing persons possessed of the requisite qualifications to accept these positions when it is considered that these men must take their families far into the wilderness, cut themselves off from civilization with its comforts and attractions, deprive their children of the advantages of education, live lives of anxiety and toil, give bonds for great sums of money, be held responsible in some instances for the expenditure of hundreds of thousands of dollars a year, and subject themselves to ever ready suspicion, detraction, and calumny, for a compensation less than that paid to a third-class clerk in Washington, or to a village postmaster, it is not strange that able, upright, thoroughly competent men hesitate, and

decline to accept the position of an Indian agent, or if they accept, resign the position after a short trial.⁴⁹

From the table given above it is evident that the salaries of the agents in 1890 varied somewhat, though not in proportion to the inequalities in work and responsibility. The Commissioners of Indian Affairs had frequently complained of the injustice in the payment of Indian agents. They claimed that the fixed salary of \$1500 which had been paid for so many years to almost all the agents was inadequate and unfair. It was inadequate because men of the proper ability and experience would not serve for it; and it was unfair because the work and responsibilities varied greatly. An agent who had charge of three hundred and twenty-five Indians was paid the same salary as the one who had seven thousand under his care. The system which prevailed in many agencies of appointing some relative or relatives of the agent as employees added to the inequality of remuneration. One agent had his wife appointed matron, although there were no other women at the agency except the cook. Another asked the Commissioner to confirm his appointment of a seventeen-year-old son as farmer at a salary of \$1000, and another son, a year younger, as assistant farmer at \$900. As the Commissioner explained in his report for 1877, it was possible for the agent in charge of the three hundred and twenty-five Indians to have his son employed as a clerk at \$1000 a year, his daughter as teacher at \$600 a year, a brother as farmer at a salary of \$900, and other relatives in other positions; while the man in charge of the seven thousand Indians might have only his own salary. Therefore, the Commissioner recommended the classification of agents into seven groups, receiving from \$2500 to \$1000.⁵⁰

The following year, Congress adopted this suggestion and

⁴⁹ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1876, pp. iii, iv.

⁵⁰ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1877, pp. 6, 7.

in the appropriation act of 1878 the salaries of the agents varied from \$1000 to \$3000. Two agencies might be consolidated and put in charge of one agent, but his combined salary was not to exceed \$2,200.⁵¹ According to the report of Commissioner Morgan in 1890 the average salary of the agents was only a little above the uniform salary paid earlier. The agents before 1878 had received \$1500; the average salary in 1890 was \$1,533.33 1/3. In addition to the salary the agent received transportation for himself; quarters for himself and family; a team was provided for him; fuel and lights for his office were furnished; he was allowed a clerk and entitled to the services of the agency physician. Supplies for his family must be purchased out of his own funds but could be obtained from the government at cost.⁵²

The organization of the work on the reservations gradually became more and more complicated. Until about 1850 the work of the agent had been comparatively easy. He held his position in accordance with treaty stipulations and whenever the pressure of civilization became too great, he and his charges moved westward. The Indians resented the intrusion of the whites who offered whiskey with one hand and work with the other, but so long as a way of escape remained they could evade both by flight. After 1850 the problem became more acute. The Indians, surrounded by a civilization which they hated and feared, were separated from it by an impenetrable wall of race prejudice and government red tape. Whenever they attempted to escape from the reservation, they were forced back by United States troops and the iron ring about them tightened once more. There, robbed by government representatives, debauched by the men who claimed to be their superiors, made

⁵¹ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XX, pp. 64, 65.

⁵² *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1890, pp. cxix, cxx.

desperate by poverty and a sense of injustice, the Indians became a formidable social problem. Too weak to fight successfully for their rights, they were yet strong enough to resist the efforts of the agents and missionaries to educate them and give them industrial training, which by this time had become absolutely necessary. Gradually the Indians began to submit to the inevitable. As the number of employees at the agencies increased the relative importance of the agent decreased. He was no longer a despot surrounded by dependents who, by common consent if not by court decisions, had no rights which a white man was bound to respect, but a business manager in the midst of a corps of supposedly trained and intelligent subordinates. In case of a vacancy in the office of agent it was possible to intrust his work to one of the subordinates or to special agents, although military officers occasionally served as temporary agents. The work of the inspectors made it possible to secure uniformity of administration even without a regular agent.

Another class of officials connected with the Indian Office was made up of special agents. In 1874 Congress fixed their salaries at \$1500 a year. After 1879 these special agents were appointed regularly by the Secretary of the Interior and their salaries were raised to \$2000. They reported directly to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and might perform the duties of inspectors, or they might be assigned to agency work when special investigations were to be made. While performing the duty of an agent, they were required to furnish the usual bonds. In 1882 Congress provided for an inspector of Indian schools⁵³ who later became the Superintendent of Indian Schools. As the work of the schools

⁵³ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XVIII, p. 147; *Bureau of American Ethnology*, Bulletin 30, Part I, p. 22; *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XXII, p. 70.

became more and more important, each separate institution came to have a superintendent similar to a city superintendent of schools, and the powers of these men gradually increased until they equalled those of the agent in importance, and they finally absorbed much of his work.

The judicial power of the agent had always been undefined. He could settle disputes between whites and Indians, but there was no civil power to enforce his decisions. Crimes committed by Indians against Indians were not recognized by the Territorial or State courts until Congress by an act of March 3, 1885, made certain crimes, such as murder and theft, subject to trial in the Territorial courts. Minor crimes and disputes were often settled in the Courts of Indian Offenses. These tribunals were composed of three Indians appointed by the agent and were recognized by the Department of the Interior on April 10, 1883. The agents appear to have been well pleased with the workings of these extra-legal courts, since they thus escaped deciding many unpleasant questions. Previous to the organization of these courts, a system of Indian police for the enforcement of law on the reservations had been established in accordance with the act of May 27, 1878. This was a semi-military organization, made up of officers and privates, who were nominated by the agent and appointed by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and no body of white officers could have been more loyal or fearless in the performance of their duties.⁵⁴

The number of agents required was slightly diminished by two policies which became popular during the period from 1870 to 1890. One was the system of consolidating the Indians belonging to two reservations, upon one reservation of which a single agent could take charge; the other was the

⁵⁴ Kappler's *Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, p. 32; Leupp's *The Indian and His Problem*, pp. 241, 242, 244; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1885, p. xxi; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1892, p. 23.

plan for the allotment of lands to the Indians, a measure strongly urged by the friends of the Indians, who believed that the Indian was the equal of the white man if given the same economic and political rights.

The consolidation of agencies was not a new feature of our Indian policy, but it became popular at this time for two reasons. It lessened the number of agents required and it opened a large amount of land to settlement, a measure always approved by the white voters. In 1878 Commissioner E. A. Hayt reported that thirty-six reservations containing 21,922,507 acres of land in charge of twenty agents could be reduced to nine reservations with 4,239,052 acres, for which only nine agents would be required, thus restoring over seventeen million acres to the public domain.⁵⁵

Another measure which tended to reduce the number of agents required was the Dawes Act of February 8, 1887, which provided for the division of reservations among the individuals of the tribe whenever the President decided that it was advisable. The work of allotting the reservations was to be performed by special agents and by the agents in charge of the reservation, and each member of the tribe was to receive an allotment, although there was a variation in the amount of land which different Indians received. The selection of land for orphan children was to be made by the agent. Citizenship was conferred upon the Indians to whom land was assigned, although the allotments were to be held in trust by the United States for twenty-five years,⁵⁶ the advocates of the bill evidently considering that the Indians were more competent to vote on matters of public business than to take care of their own property. This division of

⁵⁵ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1878, pp. iv, v.

⁵⁶ Leupp's *The Indian and His Problem*, pp. 34, 35; *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 388-391.

the reservation by no means ended the usefulness of the agent, although the policy looked forward to the time when his duties would cease. His position on such a reservation, before the end of twenty-five years, was peculiar. He was in charge of men who were land-holders, yet paid no taxes, voters, yet subject to the agent or Commissioner in matters of private finance. It was his duty to prevent the sale of liquor to the Indians, although the courts often decided that as citizens they had a right to buy it if they wished to do so. He was supposed to require able-bodied allottees to cultivate their own farms, but the enforcement of this rule on large reservations was difficult.⁵⁷ There yet remained many reservations which were not even partially allotted and on these the functions of the agent remained unchanged.

The more complex the system of administering affairs on the reservations became, the more important it was to secure men of ability as agents. The complaints as to the character of the agents do not always indicate any decrease in efficiency, but rather a higher standard of character. The method of selecting agents adopted in 1870, while it was reported as more satisfactory than the former method, did not entirely solve the problem of securing high grade men at relatively small salaries. There were several reasons for the difficulty of eradicating graft from the Indian Office. Dishonesty was easy and profitable. In addition to the immense sums of money furnished by the government, the agents, as the financial guardians of the tribes, often handled considerable sums of money which came from other sources. For example, J. C. Bridgman, agent at Green Bay, reported in 1876 that the money received for logs during the previous year amounted to \$50,156.74.⁵⁸ The Commissioner of In-

⁵⁷ Leupp's *The Indian and His Problem*, pp. 36-40.

⁵⁸ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1876, p. 147.

dian Affairs, J. Q. Smith, discussed this question in his report for 1876 in which he explained the situation as follows:

In every other department of the public service, the officers of the Government conduct business mainly with civilized and intelligent men. The Indian Office has to deal mainly with an uncivilized and unintelligent people, whose ignorance, superstition, and suspicion materially increase the difficulty both of controlling and assisting them. . . . The agencies are usually located in distant, and, in some cases, almost inaccessible places. They are, in many instances, so far from the accustomed abodes of our people as to be rarely visited by any civilized men except the agent and his employés and persons furnishing supplies. It thus happens that the business of the agency is conducted without the restraints which generally surround public officers. The agent is too remote to be under the immediate and constant surveillance of the central office. He is in a great degree free from the espionage of an intelligent public, and those near him who are competent to detect frauds or criticize official conduct may be influenced by or be in collusion with him.⁵⁹

The power granted to the churches of nominating the agents appears to have fallen into disuse after a few years. Not only were there difficulties inherent in the administration of Indian affairs, but this plan appears also to have given rise to a controversy among the various denominations, and especially between Protestants and Catholics. The latter claimed thirty-eight agencies, but were assigned only eight. Although the individual agent was usually fairly satisfactory, the system appears to have produced the inevitable result of the union of church and government, namely, jealousy. Nor did it entirely eliminate political influence. Although the churches nominated the agents, the making of appointments was still in the hands of the government officials. It was difficult for men who were themselves elected or appointed by political influence to resist the ef-

⁵⁹ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1876, p. iii.*

forts of some prominent leader to have some particular person appointed agent.

A certain Professor C. C. Painter, who read a paper before a conference on Indian welfare in 1886, after criticising the former policy of partisan appointments, declared that the appointments "are exactly in the same hands to-day, and under no greater restrictions than in the most corrupt days of the Indian service, and it would not be difficult to show that they are made for exactly the same reasons to-day, though the same opportunities for plunder do not exist." Just how far from ideal this method of appointment was, in his estimation, may be judged from his statement in the same paper "that the selection of such a man [an agent] should be made alone by a commission of angels specially charged by the Almighty with the duty of extreme vigilance and care." In this opinion the Commissioners doubtless often concurred. In order to lessen the nepotism and corruption existing in many agencies, the appointment of the clerks, farmers, and physicians was entrusted to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, instead of to the agent. The agents complained of the injustice of compelling them to work with strange assistants, but their objection was not sustained. The candidates for these positions, with the exception of the physicians, were given an examination and could be removed if found incompetent. While at the agency, however, they were subject to the orders of the agent.⁶⁰

In spite of the various attempts to reform the administration, cases of incompetent or dishonest conduct of agency affairs constantly appeared. In July, 1875, after repeated

⁶⁰ *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners*, 1886, p. 64; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1886, pp. xxx, xxxi; McKenzie's *The Indian in Relation to the White Population of the United States*, pp. 14, 15.

charges of fraud and incompetency had been made against J. J. Saville, the agent at the Red Cloud agency, a commission of four men was appointed by the Board of Indian Commissioners to investigate conditions. The chief accusation was made by Professor O. C. Marsh of Yale University, who had visited the reservation while on a scientific expedition and had become convinced that the rations and annuities issued to the Indians were inferior in quality. The report of the committee was made in the following October and was voluminous and complete, occupying eight hundred and fifty printed pages. The result of these investigations sustained "the allegation of Professor Marsh that the agent is incompetent and unfit for the position which he occupies; that he should be removed without delay, and a competent successor appointed." "His striking deficiencies", continued the report, "are a nervous and irritable temperament, inordinate loquacity, undignified bearing and manners, a want of coolness and collectedness of mind, and of firmness and decision of character. With these defects he combines some very excellent qualities of head and heart. There is no proof, however, to sustain the averment that he was in league with the contractors to defraud the Indians of the food and clothing sent them by the Government. Not a fact has been elicited to sustain this allegation. We see nothing in the evidence to satisfy us that Dr. Saville is either a grasping, covetous, or corrupt man. His tastes are rather literary and scientific, and the love of money seems to form no part of his character. There are two acts referred to in the evidence . . . which exhibit an unpardonable disregard of the moneyed interests of the Government, and which of themselves ought to have caused his immediate removal from office; but, as it does not appear that he was to derive any personal benefit from these transactions, his errors may be explained by that want of firmness, which caused him to

yield to the importunities of the selfish and unprincipled. . . . He may certainly be referred to as an example of at least one Indian agent who goes out of office a poorer man than when he entered it."

After taking the testimony of Professor Marsh and nearly a hundred different persons connected in some way with the agency, the commission made several recommendations, in addition to the one concerning the removal of the agent. Among them were: (1) the exclusion of E. R. Threlkeld from his position as inspector; (2) the refusal to receive bids in the future from three of the contractors concerned in furnishing goods to the Red Cloud agency; (3) a careful enumeration of the Sioux Indians; (4) that bids be received at some point in the West instead of in New York City; (5) that the office of superintendent be abolished and his duties transferred to the inspectors; (6) that army officers be detailed to inspect annuity goods and provisions; (7) that the keeping of accounts be more carefully provided for, and that the salaries of agents be graduated in proportion to the importance of their work; (8) that a commission of army officers be appointed to consider the organization of Indian soldiery for police duty; (9) that suitable persons be appointed in behalf of the Indians to prosecute violators of the law; and (10) that all future legislation be based upon the policy of bringing the Indians under the same law which governed the other inhabitants of the United States. In view of the debate concerning the use of the military department in administering Indian affairs, the answer of one of the witnesses, a contractor, to the question of whether he had any suggestion to offer concerning the management of the agency, is of interest. "The suggestion would be just to turn the whole thing over to the War Department," he replied, "letting the officers issue the rations, and have an officer for agent that will do the Indians justice. The In-

dians themselves wish to have an officer of the Army for agent; I heard them say so a hundred times.”⁶¹

Yet all the wrong was not on the side of the agent. The efforts of the government to prevent fraud entailed an immense amount of clerical work upon an officer whose most important work lay outside the office. The quarters provided for the agents were frequently unsuitable, because of the frauds of former incumbents or on account of the difficulty of erecting suitable houses in the wilderness. Their duties—like all work among dependent and defective people—were often discouraging; and the more conscientious the agent was, the more disappointed he was likely to be in the results accomplished. “I am satisfied that no agent can perform the higher duties for which he is placed here”, one agent wrote in his letter of resignation, “without sooner or later being compelled to spend his own money to defend himself from some unjust charge. I have the assurance of this same chief of division in the Second Comptroller’s Office, that in case an agent acting on his own judgment did, by an expenditure of five dollars, save the Government a million, he would compel him to refund that five dollars if he could.”⁶² Moreover, as the Commissioners frequently pointed out, the position of the Indian agent gave an opportunity, not only for plunder, but also for charges of graft which might have no foundation. J. B. Harrison, a representative of the Indian Rights Association, who visited some of the agencies in the North and West in 1886, and who could have had no incentive to misrepresent conditions, offered some comments on this phase of the question. He declared that “moral assassination” was often resorted to in order to secure the removal of an agent or employee, and he

⁶¹ *Report of the Special Commission Appointed to Investigate the Affairs of the Red Cloud Indian Agency*, 1875, pp. iii, vii, xvii, lxxiv, lxxv, and 225.

⁶² *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1883, p. ix.

added that "I have often been told, in towns near Indian reservations, that for ten dollars one could obtain ten affidavits accusing any man or woman of any crime whatever, and I have no reason to doubt the truth of the assertion. . . . After careful observation and study of the psychology of many Indian reservations, especially that of the white people on and near them, I am obliged to conclude that in all cases of charges of wrong-doing or impropriety of any kind against any person in the Indian service, the presumption is in the accused person's favor."⁶³

Herbert Welsh, another representative of the Indian Rights Association who visited the agencies of the Great Sioux Reserve in 1883, had few criticisms on the work of the agents, being especially pleased with conditions at the Pine Ridge Reservation, on which were more than eight thousand Indians, in charge of Dr. V. T. McGillicuddy. Like all agencies it consisted of a group of buildings made up of the agent's office, a store-house, traders' stores, a saw-mill, a stable, the residences of the employees, and a chapel. These were situated in the center of a plain, cut across by the White Clay Creek and surrounded by the low hills of the region. Cleanliness and order were the most pleasing features of this agency, and the Indians were beginning to show the effects of such surroundings. The business ability of this agent, Mr. Welsh declared, had saved the government \$200,000 in the issue of rations, without depriving his wards, the Oglala Sioux, of what they needed. This had been possible because the former agents had distributed surplus supplies, such as flour, bacon, sugar, and coffee — and the Indians had either allowed these goods to spoil or had sold them to the whites for a small part of their value. It was characteristic of the Indians that they would take all that was given them whether they had any use for it or not. Mr.

⁶³ Harrison's *The Latest Studies on Indian Reservations*, pp. 190, 191.

Welsh considered it unfortunate that part of this sum saved from the supplies could not be used in paying the salaries of additional assistants at the agency. Congress had fixed \$10,000 as the maximum sum which could be expended for this purpose. Three years later J. B. Harrison heard rumors that Dr. McGillicuddy had made vast sums of money out of Indian rations, but he declared that the only way an agent could appropriate Indian rations was to eat them.⁶⁴

INDIAN AGENTS SINCE 1892

The administration of Indian affairs since 1892 has centered about the three problems of education, citizenship, and property rights — which are, after all, only the common problems of humanity. What has been the part of the Indian agents in settling these questions so far as they apply to the three hundred thousand Indians? Either because of the character of the men attracted to this work, the system of administration, or the difficulties inherent in the work, the Indian agents seem never to have given satisfaction — even to the politicians. Perhaps the greatest hope for the Indians is to be found in the fact that the people of the United States have been dissatisfied with the treatment of the red men, not only by the official representatives of the government but by the people who gathered on our frontiers. The greatest criticism of the Indian agents in recent years has not been based on dishonesty, though cases of fraud and graft occasionally appear; but the objections have arisen largely because of the partisan appointments which have resulted in frequent changes and in lack of independent action on the part of the agents.

In spite of constant agitation, the office of Indian agent was never added to the list of positions to be filled by civil

⁶⁴ Welsh's *Report of a Visit to the Great Sioux Reserve*, pp. 32-34; Harrison's *The Latest Studies on Indian Reservations*, p. 20.

service examinations. In the case of the other agency employees the merit system was more successful, since these were mere appointive offices and did not require the confirmation of the Senate. On March 30, 1896, President Cleveland, in accordance with the Civil Service Act of January 16, 1883, put a large number of these minor employees on the civil service list, and a later order of May 6, 1896, extended the list to all agency employees, except the agents and day laborers. Indians, however, might be appointed to any of these positions — except those of teacher, superintendent, or physician — without taking the competitive examination.⁶⁵ Even in these positions political influence was doubtless still felt, but it was at least partly eliminated. Not so in the case of the agent, whose office still constituted a senatorial “plum” for some “deserving” friend.

The possible result of such political patronage on the personnel of the Indian service is well illustrated by an incident related by Francis E. Leupp, formerly Commissioner of Indian Affairs. An agent had been appointed upon the recommendation of a certain Senator. The nominee was a man of good standing in his own community, well educated, a member of a church and apparently a good citizen. Some time after his appointment, the Commissioner received an anonymous communication containing a copy of a letter written to this agent by a contractor who was furnishing flour to his reservation. This letter conveyed the information that 40,000 pounds of flour had been shipped to the agency; also that a box of choice cigars for the agent had been shipped by registered mail. Moreover, the contractor suggested that the agent would do him a favor if he would take the samples of flour to be inspected from the sacks tied with green strings. Upon the receipt of this communication an inspection of the agency was

⁶⁵ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1896, p. 3.

made, the sacks of flour opened were found to be those which had been marked as stated in the letter, and the papers of the agent were seized. The reply of the agent to the contractor was found and the evidence against him was so convincing that he made no attempt to clear himself. The Senator, however, was not so easily convinced. He argued that it was improbable that a man of this agent's standing would sell his honor and risk his position for a box of cigars, although, as the Commissioner pointed out, the box might have contained more than cigars. Several weeks dragged along with the suspected agent still in office. At last, the Commissioner announced his intention of dismissing the agent and informed the Senator that his only recourse would be an investigation by the Senate. He also declared his intention, in case this was done, of publishing the documents in his possession, including the letter written by the Senator on behalf of the agent. Needless to say, no investigation was requested.⁶⁶ This incident suggests very forcibly the fact that the strongest guarantee of honesty on the part of public officials, including Indian agents, is not bonds, nor rules, nor itemized accounts, nor inspectors, but publicity and freedom from political intervention.

Since publicity was unusually difficult to secure on the Indian reservations, much reliance had to be placed upon other systems of checks and thus the opportunity for an agent to work out any plan of his own was lost. In the words of an Indian editor, an Indian agent "comes to the Indian done up in a fish net, simply because some agents are not safe without strings all around them."⁶⁷ The keeping of itemized accounts having failed to secure honesty, Congress in 1909 fixed the penalty for making false entries in these accounts at a fine of from \$500 to \$1000 and disqualification

⁶⁶ Leupp's *The Indian and His Problem*, pp. 100-103.

⁶⁷ *The Quarterly Journal of the Society of American Indians*, Vol. I, p. 335.

from holding any similar office. Misunderstandings as to whether the official bonds of an agent covered all funds in his charge, whether belonging to the government or not, were settled by an act which made agents responsible on their bonds for all funds they might handle.⁶⁸

This dissatisfaction with civilian agents under the political spoils system led to the old agitation for military control. Since the adoption of the act of 1870 army officers had served only in a few agencies where the hostility of the natives made military rule imperative. Between July, 1876, and May, 1877, four different officers served as agent at the Spotted Tail Agency in Nebraska, during the Sioux War,⁶⁹ but such occasions had been rare. The appropriation act of July 13, 1892, however, attempted to restore military agents by providing that the President should detail army officers as agents wherever possible. The officers, while serving as agents did not give bonds as was required of civilian agents, nor did they receive any additional salary.⁷⁰

This was the last effort to restore the power of the military department in Indian affairs. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs was much opposed to the reinstatement of the military agents, claiming that civilian agents were better fitted for the work, even though the method of their appointment enabled many who were inefficient to secure and hold positions. He also argued that the employment of officers who were subject to the Secretary of War, in positions for which the Secretary of the Interior was responsible, would result in a lack of harmony between the office and field service. In spite of these objections, however, President Cleveland carried out the provisions of the act of Congress

⁶⁸ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XXXV, Part I, p. 784; Vol. XXX, p. 595.

⁶⁹ Manypenny's *Our Indian Wards*, p. 377.

⁷⁰ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 120, 121, 613.

and issued the order stationing twenty officers at various agencies. By the close of the year 1893, twenty-seven of the fifty-seven agents were army officers. The regulations of the department also prohibited the appointment of a civilian as agent on a reservation near his home, since it was believed that this would lessen to some extent his temptation to make arrangements in favor of the white people near the reservation at the expense of the Indians. Although the army officers appear to have been conscientious and able in the performance of their duties, the movement in the Indian service proved to be in another direction and the number of officers employed gradually decreased. In 1896 there were forty-two civilians and sixteen military officers serving as agents. Ten years later only one officer was on the list. Indeed, the number of men of all classes who served as Indian agents in the strict use of that term was decreasing, for by 1900 the number reporting was fifty-three, and by 1905 it had fallen to twenty-one.⁷¹

The reason for this falling off in the number of agents is to be found in the increasing importance of the superintendents of the reservation schools. A beginning of this movement had been made in 1892 when Congress included in the appropriation act the provision that the superintendent of the Indian training school at Cherokee, North Carolina, should have the authority of an Indian agent and that the separate position of agent should be discontinued. To compensate the superintendent for the additional work, he was to receive a two hundred dollar increase in salary. He was also required to give bonds like any other agent. This combination of duties was neither unreasonable nor incon-

⁷¹ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1893, pp. 5, 6; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1896, pp. 614-617; *House Documents*, 2nd Session, 59th Congress, Vol. XV, pp. 484-487.

sistent. The government had constantly increased the amount of money appropriated for the education of the Indians from \$10,000, voted in 1819, to \$4,105,715 in 1908.⁷² As the school plants increased in size and the influence of the superintendents and teachers became more and more a factor in Indian affairs, education came to be recognized as the best policy in managing the Indians and superseded charity and coercion. The allotting of many of the reservations meant the undermining of the agent's authority, while the work of the school superintendent remained as important as before.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs in his report for 1892, after protesting against the plan of substituting military for civilian agents and emphasizing the need of supervision of the Indians even after they received allotments and the franchise, recommended that the school superintendents should be given the authority of agents, especially among the advanced tribes.⁷³ These Indians needed advisers and the officers in charge of the school were unusually well fitted for this phase of the work. The suggestion met with approval and on March 3, 1893, Congress passed a law which provided that the "Commissioner of Indian Affairs, with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, may devolve the duties of any Indian agency upon the superintendent of the Indian training school located at such agency, whenever in his judgment such superintendent can properly perform the duties of such agency." The superintendents upon whom such duties devolved were to give bonds as other agents.⁷⁴

This change in the plan of agency administration was ap-

⁷² *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1892, pp. 9, 10; *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XXVII, p. 122; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1908, p. 52.

⁷³ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1892, p. 9.

⁷⁴ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XXVII, p. 614.

proved by the Indian Office and by the general public, for the number of agencies in which these two positions were combined increased steadily. In 1899 there were sixty-four Indian agencies, presided over by fifty-six regular agents and eight school superintendents. By 1902 twenty-two superintendents were in charge of entire agencies, while others were responsible for groups of Indians in the vicinity of their schools, which had formerly been a part of some agency. This plan of breaking up the agencies into smaller groups with the school as the center was illustrated by the San Jacinto reservation in California. Originally this reservation included several bands of Indians under one agent, but by 1907 it had been divided into five parts, each under a bonded teacher who had the powers of an agent but not the title.⁷⁵

By 1906 there were only twenty-one regular agents, while seventy superintendents were in charge of reservations. Besides these there were three farmers, one industrial teacher, one physician, and one army officer acting as agents. The appropriation act for 1907 provided that the school superintendents acting as agents might be paid as much as three hundred dollars in addition to their usual salaries, which were generally about the same as those of the agents.⁷⁶ By the close of Francis E. Leupp's term as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in 1909, the fusion of the two positions had been completed. The superintendents had either been given the powers of agents, or wherever the Commissioner could certify that they were competent, the

⁷⁵ *Statistics of Indian Tribes, Indian Agencies, and Indian Schools*, 1899, pp. 5, 6, et passim; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1902, p. 20; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1907, pp. 13, 14.

The *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* for 1899 gives sixty-one agencies, fifty-four regular agents and seven school superintendents in charge of agencies.

⁷⁶ *House Documents*, 2nd Session, 59th Congress, Vol. XV, pp. 484-487; *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XXXIV, Part I, p. 1020.

agents were appointed superintendents, and when a vacancy occurred the new agent-superintendent was appointed under the civil service rules.⁷⁷

Since that time the terms agent and superintendent have again come to be interchangeable as they had been in earlier times. The official title generally used is "Superintendent and Special Disbursing Agent", but to the Indians and to the public in general they are still "agents", and their duties do not differ very materially from those of the agents before 1892. The emphasis has been placed upon the supervision of the schools and industrial training rather than upon the distribution of rations, but the new superintendents, like the old agents, are guardians of the Indians in theory if not in practice. The trader, the frontiersman, the army officer, the political parasite, the business manager, and the missionary had been tried and found wanting. It remained for the educator to make the attempt and the result is yet undecided.

The advantages of combining the two supervisory offices in an agency may be summed up briefly as follows. It extended the rule of the civil service over the agents, the only important officers on the reservations not already on the list, for regular agents were appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, with the exception of military officers; while school superintendents were appointed by the Commissioner from a list of those persons who had passed the civil service examination. The new plan secured men with more experience among the Indians. In 1902 out of the fifty-seven bonded superintendents, thirty-seven had been in the work continuously for from ten to twenty-four years. As compared with the agents, both civilian and military, who seldom served more than four years and often not that long, this was a distinct advantage, especially in a position

⁷⁷ Leupp's *The Indian and His Problem*, pp. 97, 98.

among a people who required peculiar treatment. The Blackfoot agency in Montana, for example, had had four agents in three years.⁷⁸ In the matter of honesty, too, the men appointed as superintendents appear to have been superior to the agents. Commissioner W. A. Jones, writing on this point in 1902, declared that not one superintendent had been removed for peculation, and this statement is supported by the fact that indemnity companies charged forty percent less for the bonds of the superintendents than they did for those of the agents. In the work of the superintendent the change was beneficial in reënforcing his authority over those parents who refused to send their children to school. It also prevented interference in the work of the school by an agent who was not in sympathy with the aims of the superintendent.⁷⁹

The task of educating the Indian children, though slow, is proving successful. In 1901 the average attendance at the Indian schools was 24,077; in 1908 it was 25,964; in 1911 it was 23,647; and in 1914 it was 27,775. These figures are of interest when compared with the total number of children and with the Indian children enrolled in the regular public schools. In 1902, there were ninety-eight Indian children provided for in public schools by the United States government; in 1911 there were 10,625 Indian children in the public schools, and in 1914 there were 25,180. Besides, there are at present about four thousand Indian children in private schools. The total number of Indian children in school in 1914 was 57,898; those eligible but not in school numbered 15,906; while 6,428 children were unable to attend because of

⁷⁸ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in the Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior, 1902, Indian Affairs, Part I, p. 19. Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1900, Part I, p. 265.*

⁷⁹ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in the Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior, 1902, Indian Affairs, Part I, p. 19. Leupp's The Indian and His Problem, pp. 97, 98.*

illness or deformity. The total number in school in 1914 shows a remarkable increase over the number in 1902, namely, 24,120, and 39,397 in 1911, and points to the ultimate elimination of the Indian as a separate class for educational purposes and the passing of the Indian agent. The attendance of Indian children at the public schools is brought about either by the payment of tuition by the United States, or by virtue of decisions of the courts that Indians who are tax-payers are entitled to send their children to school on the same terms as white children.⁸⁰

While these changes in the appointment of agents were taking place, other questions of Indian administration attracted attention. One of these questions had to do with the allotment of the reservations which had been begun on a large scale in 1887. It is of interest in this connection only because of the part of the agents in the work and its effect upon their duties and importance. The actual workings of the Dawes Act showed that there was need of improvement in some of its details. In the first place, it had shown that citizenship and even the franchise were not in themselves sufficient protection for the Indians, but even exposed them to several dangers from which they might otherwise have been protected. Besides, no distinction was made between competent and incompetent Indians. All allottees were made citizens, but none of them could become economically independent before the expiration of the twenty-five year period. The Clapp Amendment, passed as a "rider" to the appropriation bill of 1905,⁸¹ made it possible for adult mixed-blood Indians to sell their allotments without the con-

⁸⁰ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1912, p. 11; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1914, pp. 6, 136.

⁸¹ *Congressional Record*, 3rd Sess., 58th Congress, Vol. XXXIX, Part II, p. 1330.

sent of the Indian Office, although minor and pure-blood Indians could not. This distinction was merely a concession to the greed of the land and lumber companies and speculators, who coveted the farms and pine forests which remained in the possession of the Indians. No procedure for determining who were mixed-bloods was provided, so it was left to be decided by the agent of the reservation or by inspectors in the Indian service.

The result of this exemption when the agent was incompetent or dishonest was extremely injurious to the Indians, as was shown in the case of the Ojibways at the White Earth Reservation in Minnesota during the years from 1905 to 1909. The agent on this reservation at the time of the allotment was Simon Michelet, one of the few political agents at that time. The reservation, on which were valuable pine lands, had already been partly allotted, but on April 24, 1905, the agent began making additional allotments in order to give each member of the tribe the one hundred and sixty acres which the law permitted him to receive. According to the report of Warren K. Moorehead, the special agent sent to investigate this matter in 1909, this allotment was unfair, partly because some Indians were given their full amount of land while others received none, and partly because the mixed-blood Indians, as far as the agent could accomplish it, were given the valuable tracts. Mr. Moorehead reported that Agent Michelet had been on unusually friendly terms with the representatives of the Nichols-Chisolm Lumber Company, and other persons interested in the purchase of the pine timber. Since the mixed-blood Indians could sell their lands and the others could not do so legally, it was to the interest of these men to so arrange that the mixed-blood Indians would draw the choice tracts. The first to receive an allotment was a white girl, Margaret Lynch, who obtained a tract worth \$22,000. Full-

blood Indians were pushed out of line with the consent and upon the order of the agent, or they were told that the tracts they desired had been already drawn, although not a sufficient number of people preceded them in the line to have selected the entire list presented.

The policeman of the agency testified that "Agent Simon Michelet came out of his office in an excited manner, and told me to keep the Indians out and let the mixed-bloods in." Immediately after the drawing, there was a scramble to secure the lands of the mixed-bloods, nor were the speculators particular to ascertain that the Indian who had land to sell was really a mixed-blood. Whiskey was freely sold or given to the Indians and under its influence the Indians made bargains which left them paupers. So determined were the men engaged in this swindle to keep what they had secured that they were ready to resort to violence and when Special Agent Moorehead was asked to bring his affidavits to Washington, he felt it necessary to drive forty-five miles to Ogema, rather than risk the danger of their interference at Park Rapids, the usual railroad station, and even then he was escorted by eight armed men. Inspector E. B. Linnen was then associated with Mr. Moorehead and the investigation was continued. In the case of the adult mixed-bloods nothing could be done since they were politically and economically independent, but wherever it appeared that other Indians had sold land action was begun to recover the property.⁸²

An attempt was made to prevent such conditions on the reservations by the amendment to the Dawes Act known as the Burke Act of May 8, 1906. This law made the granting of the patent in fee instead of the trust patent the occasion for conferring citizenship upon the Indians, although the Indians to whom allotments had already been made re-

⁸² Moorehead's *The American Indian*, pp. 67-76.

mained citizens and voters. Another feature of this law made it possible for any Indian, whom the Secretary of the Interior considered competent, to receive his patent in fee before the expiration of the twenty-five years, without special legislation.⁸³ The agent was thus enabled to retain the guardianship of the Indians until they proved that they were able to take care of themselves.

Another change in the agency system which became important at this time was the elimination of the ration distribution. Ordinarily these consisted of beef, flour, corn, coffee, sugar, beans, bacon, salt, soap, baking-powder, and sometimes rice and hominy. The agents had always been instructed that these rations were not to be given to Indians who were able to work but would not do so when they had an opportunity. Such a rule on many reservations could not be obeyed and became practically of no effect. The granting of rations had sometimes been refused, as a punishment to compel restitution for some crime, or to persuade obstinate Indians to send their children to school; but the natives had come to believe that the whites owed them a living and that work was an imposition to cheat them out of what was lawfully theirs.

The men in charge of the Indian Office thus began to believe that this willingness of the Indians to live on the government rations was really prejudicial to their advancement, even though the government did owe them the money. Agents began to enforce the regulations which excluded certain classes from the ration list. The first attempt to do this on a large scale was made in the Sioux agencies, which in the thirty years previous to 1900 had received supplies valued at \$60,000,000. In 1901 letters were sent to all the Sioux agents directing them to revise the ration lists. The

⁸³ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XXXIV, Part I, pp. 182, 183.

names of all Indians who were self-supporting were erased and those who were partially able to support themselves were to be given only what they needed, while those who could work and refused to do so were not to be given anything. All Indians drawing government salaries, except the Indian police who were poorly paid in comparison with their services, were also to be dropped from the list. Among the Sioux agencies the number included in this class was over one hundred and fifty and their salaries ranged from \$840 to \$120 per annum. School employees who received as much as \$300 per year in addition to maintenance were also excluded. The abuse of the ration system is evident from some of these regulations. Later in the year, the same notices were sent to all agencies where rations had been distributed. In January, 1902, the Indians were informed that all who were able-bodied would not be given rations, but would be paid a dollar and a quarter for eight hours work about the agency. Arrangements were also made to secure work for the Indians off the reservations, the agents thus conducting employment bureaus in addition to their other duties. In spite of the opposition of the Indians who preferred rations without work, and their sympathetic friends who considered the regulation cruel, the plan was carried out — the first result being the reduction of the list of those receiving supplies by about 12,000. By 1911 it was estimated that less than 21,000 Indians were recipients of rations and it was hoped that the number would become less as the Indians became self-supporting.⁸⁴

Another time-honored custom of the agency system which disappeared during this recent period was the granting of passes by the agents to Indians who wished to leave the res-

⁸⁴ Harrison's *The Latest Studies on Indian Reservations*, p. 23; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1902, pp. 2-9; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1911, p. 15.

ervation. Until 1904 this was a rule of the Indian Office and it became the cherished desire of the Indians to obtain such a paper, whether they needed it or not. Many of the Indians were harmless but lazy and shiftless, and an agent, although he had no reason for refusing a pass, did not hesitate to write very plainly concerning the bearer of the pass, who, of course, could not read it himself. The following illustration of this practice is cited by Francis E. Leupp:

NOTICE

Lazy Jake, to whom this paper has been issued, is a thoroughly worthless and unreliable Ballyhoo Indian.

R. VAN WINKLE,
*U. S. Indian Agent.*⁸⁵

The Indian went away satisfied and of course imposed on no one to whom he proudly displayed this testimonial. The pass system was gradually abolished and consequently this duty of the agents was discontinued.

Another reform which touched the work of the agents was the ruling of December 17, 1909, concerning the collection of debts from Indians, by which agents were forbidden to assist creditors in collecting from Indian debtors. Previous to this time — although it had been prohibited as early as 1880 — creditors had presented their bills to the superintendents in charge of the reservations. To avoid complaints, all debts incurred before 1909 were investigated by the Indian Office and it was found in many cases that not more than fifty percent of the amounts claimed had been received by the Indians.⁸⁶

But all these changes in the administration of Indian affairs have apparently left the work of the agent or superintendent as complex as it was before. An agent in the

⁸⁵ Leupp's *The Indian and His Problem*, pp. 221-223.

⁸⁶ *Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1912, pp. 10, 11.

Southwest during the first decade of the twentieth century has been described as a man who "sat in a swivel chair, for four consecutive years, practically every day from eight in the morning till five in the evening, hearing complaints, issuing orders, writing letters, opening bids, signing leases, supervising accounts, drawing checks, settling domestic disputes, exercising the functions of a guardian for orphan children, unravelling the intricacies of heirship in families where nobody knows certainly his blood relationship to any body else, adjusting debts and credits between individual Indians, preparing cases for the prosecution of dram sellers or the ejection of intruders, and devising forms for legal instruments which will save some remnant for the Indian after the white man gets through stripping him. In all these four years he has had less than twenty days' vacation. His immediate recreations have been an occasional visit to an outlying pay-station; an appearance in court as a witness against some one who is trying to rob the poor people in his care; or a personal inspection of an Indian's property at a distance, when a white contractor or a railroad company wants to make a doubtful use of it."⁸⁷ Nor were these duties performed without active opposition from the whites who surrounded the reservation. Colonel Day, the agent for the Southern Utes, defended the Indians against the attempts of the people of Colorado to move them to Utah, and was threatened by the white settlers with injuries and indignities, including the boycott of the newspaper of which he was the editor, and such treatment as would make it impossible for his family to remain in Durango, Colorado.⁸⁸

A description of the work of an Indian superintendent practically similar to that above, was given in 1914 by Denison Wheelock, an Oneida Indian, although the greater

⁸⁷ Leupp's *The Indian and His Problem*, p. 104.

⁸⁸ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1895, p. 1002.

emphasis upon educational work is apparent. The following are the words of this man who is fairminded enough to see the good which the United States has attempted as well as the evil which it is unable or unwilling to prevent:

An agent on an Indian reservation is charged with the care and control of every Indian residing on his particular reservation; if an Indian desires to sell his land, the agent secures a buyer and arranges the sale for him; if an Indian wants to buy a cow, the agent finds the cow and arranges for its purchase; if an Indian determines on farming his allotment, the agent furnishes the implements, the seed and the instruction for him; if he wants to send his children to school, the agent arranges for their transportation and physical examination, and for the maintenance, care, discipline, clothing, board, lodging and general comfort of such children while at school. The office of the agent is the probate court for the settlement and distribution of the estates of deceased Indians. He is the policeman and judge of the criminal court. He is responsible for all the property belonging to the government; for the efficiency and competency of all the employees under him; for the education and civilization of the thousands of Indians under his charge and for the wise and economical expenditure of funds appropriated by the government for use on his reservation.

Mr. Wheelock also regretted the lack of authority and initiative on the part of these officers and the possibility of interference by some clerk at Washington who could not understand the situation. He further declared that the average salary of \$2000 a year would never attract the class of men needed in the work. The trouble, in his estimation, was with the system, at least as much as with the men who did the work. This opinion is summed up in the statement that such "a system cannot be expected to accomplish very much of benefit and never has."⁸⁹

Another Indian, in an editorial on the subject of Indian agents declared that men accepted these positions for one of

⁸⁹ *The Quarterly Journal of the Society of American Indians*, Vol. I, pp. 366-368.

four reasons. Some needed a "job", some were dishonest and hoped to make money out of their dealings with the "dirty redskins", some thought the place an easy one, while others really hoped to succeed in a work in which others had failed. The editor had no illusions about the difficulty of the work of the agent, for he asserted that "Joe Pete, our Kickapoo friend, said there are things he would not do 'even for four banks full of money.' This is one I wouldn't."⁹⁰ It must have been to the third class that the agent belonged concerning whom Mr. Leupp tells the following story. He had just appointed a new superintendent and on visiting the reservation, found that the Indians were making unreasonable demands on his time. He remonstrated with them, concluding with the remark, "Now, I want you to remember that an Agent, like every body else, must have some time to rest!" In the pause which followed, an old Indian called out, "The *last* Agent rested *all* the time!"⁹¹

The present system of administering Indian reservations is characterized by the encouragement given the Indians to leave the reservations and become an integral part of the citizenship of the State. It is also marked by the tendency to increase the number of reservations, since by this means the work of a superintendent is made more personal and effective. According to the Commissioner's report in 1912, there were 157 superintendents with an average salary of about \$1,691; 719 employees engaged in general administration; 2401 persons giving instruction of various kinds; 766 police; 311 persons engaged in the department of health; 140 in forestry; and 525 unclassified — a total of 5019 employees in the Indian service.⁹²

⁹⁰ *The Quarterly Journal of the Society of American Indians*, Vol. I, pp. 334, 335.

⁹¹ Leupp's *The Indian and His Problem*, pp. 4, 5.

⁹² *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1912, p. 305.

SUMMARY

From the preceding sketch of the administration of Indian affairs, it is evident that the history of the work of the Indian agents in the United States may be divided, more or less arbitrarily, into six periods. Each period has been characterized by some peculiar purpose or plan of administration; and yet in spite of these differences, the continuity of the work has been unbroken. Sometimes the agencies have been maintained for the benefit of the white men, sometimes they have been largely concerned with the welfare of the Indians. Occasionally they appear to have existed largely for the purpose of satisfying political debtors.

The first period covers the colonial history of the English settlements. With reference to Indian affairs, this period was marked by the emphasis on the commercial and military work of the representatives of the governments, and by the lack of agreement among the various provincial and Crown agents. Each colony wanted the trade of the Indians and sometimes their military support, and each was willing to make some concessions to obtain what it wanted. The Indian agents at this time were diplomatic representatives, commercial travellers, and military officers by turns. Although an effort was made to convince the Indians that these men were sent out for the benefit of the natives, their fundamental purpose was the strengthening of the particular government they represented.

The second period covered the Revolutionary War and the years under the Articles of Confederation. It is characterized by the emphasis upon the diplomatic work of the agents. Trade, land purchases, and education among the Indians were made subordinate to the struggle for independence. The system was as chaotic as its purpose was patriotic. The early period had been one of formation, the second was one of readjustment. So far as Indian administration was con-

cerned the government simply marked time. The Indians were useful friends but dangerous enemies, and the agents were instructed to make every effort to win their friendship.

When the new Constitution was inaugurated in 1789 a more definite policy of administering Indian affairs became possible. This third period, which ended in 1849 was marked by the extension of white settlements westward and the constant removal of the Indians to new hunting-grounds. It became the chief duty of the agents to hold back the advancing pioneers, and at the same time to urge the Indians forward. The Indian asked but one thing of the white man — that he be let alone. The white man, likewise, wanted but one thing of the Indian — his land. The one thing an agent was expected to accomplish was the transplanting of the Indians. The pioneer cared not at all where the Indian went, his only demand was that he be removed from the land which the settler coveted.

After 1849 two changes took place in the conduct of Indian affairs. The supervision of the work was transferred from the War Department to the Secretary of the Interior, and a policy of consolidation and segregation took the place of simple removal. The agents were appointed theoretically to carry out the plans of the government and to distribute the supplies and money which had been promised to the Indians in return for their lands. As a matter of fact, much of the money appropriated for the relief of the Indians went into the pockets of political spoilsmen.

Then came a period of attempted reform. During the years between 1870 and 1892 an effort was made to substitute religious control for political influence and also to establish political and economic independence in the place of paternalism. The chief purpose was the reformation of the Indian service and the incorporation of the Indians into the body politic. The government agents were to be spiritual

and educational leaders of the Indians. A great deal was accomplished, but all efforts proved ineffective to protect the Indians from the greed of their white neighbors.

To supplement these movements, the United States government began to emphasize education in order to give the Indians intellectual independence, without which economic and political rights have been as useless to them as houses built on sand. Beginning with 1892 the government began the correlation of the schools and the agencies. The agents had always been expected to teach the Indians some of the lessons of civilization, but now the teachers were to be the agents. The purpose was no longer to be the separation of the Indians from the whites, but the preparation of the Indians for taking their places in the state along with the white men.

Throughout these periods, the agents have lived and worked among the Indians as more or less faithful exponents of the motives which sent them there. Persuasion, bribery, intimidation, whiskey, robbery, charity, coercion, reason, the franchise, property rights, and education have been used by turns to accomplish the varying purposes of the white men. The government is still spending nearly \$10,000,000 a year through the Indian Office and the amount is increasing. Has the work of the Indian agents then been an entire failure? Success must be judged by the obstacles overcome as well as by the results accomplished. The difficulties in this work have been many. The agent, even when honest, has been handicapped by red tape and political intrigues above him, by native indolence and superstition below him, and by greed and contempt for the Indians in the whites around him. The results may be seen in the lists of prominent Indian citizens, in more than \$900,000,000 worth of property held by native Americans, in 180,000 Indian land-holders and almost 60,000 Indian children in various

schools.⁹³ How far from successful the work has been may be read in the broken treaties, the massacres, the graft, and the other features which have made the history of our relations with the Indians so frequently a disgrace to the civilization we profess. The work is incomplete, but not entirely a failure. In the words of an Indian editor, "Lo, the poor Indian agent! Who shall lighten his burden, who shall make his name honorable, and who shall give him understanding and clear the way that he may work honestly, intelligently and to good purpose whether he wills it or not?"⁹⁴

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⁹³ Moorehead's *The American Indian*, pp. 26, 27.

⁹⁴ *The Quarterly Journal of the Society of American Indians*, Vol. I, p. 337.

THE CAREER OF SAMUEL R. THURSTON IN IOWA AND OREGON

Iowa has contributed largely to the settlement and development of the region extending westward from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean. The reason, in part at least, is to be found in the position which Iowa occupied with respect to the great westward movement which with amazing rapidity conquered the wild, unsubdued regions of the West. Located where many channels of travel naturally converged, on the border of the great dry plains beyond, the movement was here halted for a time and Iowa became a way-station where thousands of people recuperated their strength and fortunes and gained valuable frontier experience before pressing on further to the West.

It is interesting, therefore, to note that a large number of the men who were active and influential in laying foundations for the Commonwealth of Iowa were afterward, to an even greater extent and in a more conspicuous way, influential in building up the States of the Pacific Coast. Augustus Caesar Dodge, then Delegate to Congress from the Territory of Iowa, said in Congress during the debate on the resolution to terminate the treaty of joint occupancy and extend the laws of the United States over Oregon, that "a very large proportion of the population of Oregon has gone thither from Iowa, and I have, from sympathy and association, a feeling of strong attachment for them, and for the pioneer in whatever part of the country his lot may be cast."¹

Many of these men did not tarry long in Iowa, but some

¹ *Appendix to the Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 29th Congress, p. 345.

of them will be readily recognized by anyone acquainted with the history of this Commonwealth. For instance, there was Morton M. McCarver who, with his brother-in-law, first settled on the land now occupied by the city of Burlington, Iowa. Having lived here about ten years, he went to Oregon, where he became Speaker of the House of Representatives in the provisional government, as well as one of the early promoters of the settlement and development of both Oregon and California. He was the owner of the townsite of Tacoma, and was the first adult buried in its cemetery.

Another was William H. Wallace, familiarly called "Hank". He was the Speaker of the House in the First Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Iowa and thus played an important part in legislation of that session, constituting what is known as *The Old Blue Book*, which was adopted by the provisional government of Oregon in 1843 and was for many years the law of all the country west of the Rocky Mountains between the forty-second and forty-ninth parallels of latitude.² For sixteen years he lived in Henry County where he took a prominent part in politics. Then he emigrated to Washington Territory, where he first served in the legislature and afterward became Governor and Delegate to Congress. Still later he moved to Idaho, the people of which Territory also elected him, successively, as Governor and as Delegate to Congress.

Again, there was W. W. Chapman, the first Delegate to Congress from the Territory of Iowa. After moving to Oregon he became one-third owner of the townsite of the city of Portland, one-half owner of the first steamship sent out from the Columbia River, and the original prospector of the railroad that later came to be known as the Oregon Short Line. Other men whose names appear prominently in the annals of both Iowa and Oregon are Berryman Jennings,

² See THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. IX, pp. 510-512.

who was the first school teacher in the Iowa country; Samuel R. Thurston, whose short career in Iowa and Oregon was remarkably efficient; George H. Williams, judge of the first judicial district of Iowa and presidential elector in 1852, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Oregon, United States Senator, United States Attorney General, and member of the Joint High Commission with Great Britain to settle the Civil War Claims; and Delazon Smith, called Delusion Smith or the "Last Tyler Man", an active Democrat in Iowa, and a member of the constitutional convention and the legislature of Oregon. Robert Kinney, Levi Scott, J. C. Holgate, and many other one-time citizens of Iowa, although not prominent in history, played useful parts in settling and developing the great Northwest.

Because he is not so well known and because he typifies the movement of population which spread with great rapidity from Portland, Maine, to Portland, Oregon, it is the purpose of this paper to present the main features of the career of Samuel R. Thurston.

Samuel Royal Thurston was born in Monmouth, Kennebec County, Maine, in the year 1816. While he was still young his parents moved to the western part of the State, and his boyhood was passed in the narrow valley of the Androscoggin, where that river breaks out of the White Mountains near the little village of Peru. It is a region characteristic of the wilder parts of New England. The rough, rugged ridges of the mountains, sparsely covered with birch and pine, crowd in close to the stream, leaving but little land from which the hardy farmer may dig out the bare necessities of life.³

In common with all New England youth, the desire for

³ Bancroft's *History of Oregon*, Vol. II, p. 114, note; *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, Vol. XV, p. 153.

education grew strong in the bosom of young Thurston; and as with many others, in proportion to the desire were the difficulties in the way of its gratification. His father was poor and it was only by hard labor and close economy that he was able to provide for those at home. Without means, without influential friends, Thurston started out alone to work his way, resolute in his pursuit of knowledge. He first went to the Wesleyan Seminary at Readfield, which was not far from his home. There is reason to think that he afterward attended two or three other institutions of learning, for in his diary, written many years later, he speaks of meeting an old Dartmouth College chum. The records of Bowdoin College, however, show that he graduated from that institution in 1843. Bowdoin College was in the forefront of American colleges at that time. Its requirements were high, its curriculum comprehensive, and its faculty composed of strong, able instructors. A galaxy of men famous in our history pointed with pride to the Bowdoin of that day as their alma mater, and the lustre of the names of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and Franklin Pierce rested upon it. Thurston is said to have gained distinction in debate while in college.

He was twenty-seven years of age when he received his degree. Occasional glimpses reveal what his education must have cost him: the long hours of work before and after school, the hard labor during vacations, the necessity of leaving school for a year to work, and the close economy which he must always practice. Indeed, the habit of economy became so deeply ingrained in him that throughout his life he never could indulge in any needless expense and he always kept an account of all expenditures. The securing of an education was a long, hard task for Thurston.⁴ Like

⁴ Baneroff's *History of Oregon*, Vol. II, p. 114; *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, Vol. XV, pp. 153, 193; Cleaveland's *History of Bowdoin College*, p. 590.

growing a crop in that thin New England soil, an education came only by persistent efforts and hard knocks.

After his graduation Thurston began the study of law in the city of Brunswick, Maine, and was admitted to the bar in 1845. Thereupon he at once repaired to his native county and was married to Miss Elizabeth F. McClench; and the young couple set out to seek a home in Iowa, which was then the far West. It indicates the course of the westward movement and the fact that the sun of opportunity shone bright over Iowa at this time that a young man of Thurston's genius and equipment, coming fresh from the halls of learning and the eastern verge of our land, should have chosen Iowa as his arena for action.

Thurston at once sought out modest quarters at Burlington and put up his shingle as an attorney at law. Soon afterward he was appointed solicitor for Des Moines County. On November 29, 1845, however, only three or four months after his arrival in Burlington, he purchased of the firm of Clarke and Tizzard an interest in the *Iowa Territorial Gazette and Burlington Advertiser*, and became its editor in the place of James Clarke whose share he had purchased. This paper was the organ of the Democratic party, and was perhaps the most influential newspaper in the Territory at that time. It had been launched at Belmont in December, 1836, by James Clarke, who had been foreman of the *Democratic State Journal* of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, and had had newspaper experience in St. Louis. When the seat of government of Wisconsin Territory was temporarily located at Burlington in 1837 Clarke moved his paper thither and for several years enjoyed the profits of the public printing.⁵

⁵ *The History of Des Moines County* (Chicago: Western Historical Company, 1879), pp. 413, 414; Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. I, pp. 315, 316. James Clarke was appointed Governor of the Territory of Iowa in 1845.

In 1845 a number of the most prominent men in the Territory of Iowa lived at Burlington, which still retained something of the distinction of having been the Territorial capital for several years. It was an influential position, therefore, that Thurston took when he assumed the editorship of the *Iowa Territorial Gazette and Burlington Advertiser*.

The period of Thurston's editorship was an exciting one in Iowa, and many important matters received his editorial comment. The affairs of the great Mormon Church, then located not far below Burlington on the Mississippi River, were coming to a crisis. The hostility of the citizens of Illinois had been aroused to such an extent that open warfare had broken out. Governor Ford had secured an armistice upon the promise of the leaders of the Church that they would leave the State. Consequently the year 1846 witnessed the making of the Mormon Trail across the Territory of Iowa and the hegira of that great body of people to their Winter Quarters across the river from the present site of Council Bluffs.⁶ This, likewise, was the period of the Mexican War and the victories of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma were chronicled. Besides, the people of Iowa were at this time much agitated over the question of statehood.

The files of the paper were not available to the writer, but from other sources it is possible to construct an outline of Thurston's policies. He was a staunch Democrat, being a firm believer in the principles of that party as laid down by Andrew Jackson; and he was a strong supporter of James K. Polk. He would have joined in an agreement to consolidate the party by a campaign of conquest in Mexico and by a demand for the whole of Oregon under the slogan of

⁶ See Van der Zee's *The Mormon Trails in Iowa* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XII, pp. 3-16.

“Fifty-four forty or fight”. He was not, however, a pro-slavery Democrat. He was not in favor of extending slavery into free territory, or of protecting the rights of masters to go into free territory and claim slaves. He claimed that the Southerners did not desire the extension of slavery, but were interested merely in defending it where it already existed, against the menace of the northern abolitionists. He ably opposed the Whigs on the tariff question, and no doubt played his part in convincing the people of Iowa at that time, contrary to what has been their pronounced belief subsequently, that a tariff for revenue only was for their interests. He was opposed to national banks; and he warmly supported the principles embodied in the State Constitution drawn up in 1844 and twice rejected by the people because of the boundaries imposed by Congress. He contended with vigor for the retention of both rivers, the Missouri and the St. Peters, as the natural boundaries for the proposed State of Iowa.⁷

But the matter which occupied most space in Thurston’s editorial columns and which for him had a strong and growing interest, was the claim of the United States, against Great Britain, to the whole of the Pacific Northwest. Since 1843 the newspapers of Iowa had been publishing all the information they could get about that subject. Before he came to Iowa Thurston had read many of Hall J. Kelley’s papers and circulars, and as a result his arguments upon that question were complete, strong, and conclusive in favor of the abrogation of the agreement of joint occupancy.

The name of the paper was changed late in 1846 to the *Iowa State Gazette*. Upon all the questions involved in the

⁷ This statement of Thurston’s editorial policies was made up from extracts from the Burlington paper printed in the *Iowa Capitol Reporter* (Iowa City) during this period; and from the political views expressed in Thurston’s diary, written two years later, which is published in *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, Vol. XV, pp. 153–205.

Constitution adopted in 1846, under which Iowa was admitted into the Union as a State on December 28th of that year, the influence of Samuel R. Thurston was doubtless pronounced. It is also safe to say that he contributed in no small way to the Democratic successes of the period, although the measure of such influence can never be made.

Thurston's mind had been turning more and more to Oregon, where he saw visions of great opportunities for men of his type. In him the difficulties and dangers of the long, toilsome, overland journey aroused no dread: the obstacles to be overcome only made the goal the more attractive. He sold his interest in the *Gazette* early in the spring of the year 1847 and made preparations to join a party which was about to set out for Oregon.

It is not difficult to picture that caravan as it assembled at the appointed place. W. W. Chapman, the first Delegate to Congress from the Territory of Iowa, and his brother, and others who had spent several years in Iowa were there. Each one, with such mementoes or keepsakes as he could not cast away, and with the outfit and provisions necessary for the long journey, came to the rendezvous. There were heavy wagons with high boxes made tight so that they might be used as boats in crossing streams, and with tops of white canvass upheld by bows of shaved saplings — wagons which were drawn by from two to six yoke of oxen. There were also a number of horses and perhaps a herd of cattle. Such were the emigrant trains which in those days crossed the wide plains, went through the South Pass, down the rough and rocky gorges of the western side, over the Blue Mountains, to the valley of the Columbia. The journey usually required seven months. The Mormons had just made their road along the north side of the Platte River, and the Iowa party probably followed that route.⁸

⁸ See the writer's article on *The Mormon Road* in *The Washington Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VI, No. 4.

It is said that in the fall of the year 1847 S. Thurston lived in one of the four houses which constituted Robert Moore's new town called Linn City, located on the western bank of the Willamette opposite Oregon City.⁹ There, with his wife and child, Samuel R. Thurston began his life in the Pacific Northwest. He came at a critical moment. Friction and disturbance had arisen out of the difficulties which had been aggravated by the postponing of the settlement of the joint occupancy question. The massacre of Marcus Whitman and the destruction of his mission occurred only a few weeks after Thurston's arrival, filling the minds of the people with dread and apprehension. Thurston was young, brilliant, handsome, splendidly educated, with an indomitable will, and almost insanely ambitious. He became the fitting instrument at the opportune moment to accomplish a terrible wrong.

In order to show the full effect of the action of Thurston just referred to it is necessary to explain the conditions existing in Oregon previous to his arrival. After the sale of John Jacob Astor's trading post at the mouth of the Columbia River the Hudson's Bay Company of Great Britain remained the undisputed master of the whole Pacific Northwest. It was a great, rich corporation, with headquarters in London and a score of forts and trading-posts scattered all over the Northwest. Its ships sailing into the Columbia and its regular caravans, going overland by way of the Red River, kept up a profitable commerce with the outside world. The headquarters of this Company on the Pacific Coast was at Vancouver, on the north side of the Columbia, less than thirty miles from Oregon City.

At the head of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Northwest, and possessing almost absolute power over all its in-

⁹ Bancroft's *History of Oregon*, Vol. II, p. 3.

terests in that region, was Dr. John McLoughlin. He was a Canadian, a man of commanding presence, as well as a man of culture and of broad, liberal ideas. He was a just man, kindly, humane, and generous. By the force of his character the whole army of employees of that great Company had been held in perfect control; and by the same means, without oppression or bloodshed, he had controlled the various tribes of Indians with whom the Company carried on trade, so that each looked up with respect and fear to the great White Eagle at Vancouver and was willing to obey his commands. For many years he had conducted the different branches of the Company's business in such a manner that it had become immensely profitable.¹⁰

In 1829, before any white man had come from the States, Dr. McLoughlin had permitted some of the employees of the Company to retire from its service, and settle upon the rich plains of the middle Willamette River. He had visited that region in the same year, and noting the wild magnificence of the falls, probably with the thought that some day, if people ever came there, the falls might be valuable as water power, he located a claim, and began the digging of a mill race and the erection of a mill. By the time of the coming of the first Methodist missionary, in 1834, Dr. McLoughlin had made numerous improvements. He had erected three buildings, one of them a warehouse, and had blasted out a race-way for a saw-mill, and by the time of the coming of the "Lausanne" with the great mission reënforcement in 1840, the site was everywhere known as Dr. McLoughlin's claim.¹¹

During the years 1832 and 1833 the Macedonian cry of the Indians of the Pacific Northwest echoed through the Chris-

¹⁰ This estimate of Dr. McLoughlin's character and abilities is based on statements of American contemporaries who had no reason to be unduly prejudiced in his favor. See Holman's *Dr. John McLoughlin the Father of Oregon*, pp. 190-196; 272-286.

¹¹ Holman's *Dr. John McLoughlin the Father of Oregon*, pp. 102, 103.

tian churches of the East, and great enthusiasm was aroused. The first to respond to this appeal was the Methodist Church, which organized a vanguard to accompany Wyeth across the plains on his second expedition to the Columbia Valley in 1834. The leader of this vanguard, and until 1843 the head of the Methodist missions in Oregon, was Jason Lee, a shrewd man, devoted to his church.

Lee passed by all the tribes of eastern Washington and Oregon and of Idaho, and went down to the Willamette and the coast. Upon his coming he was most hospitably received and entertained by Dr. McLoughlin, by whom every courtesy was extended. When the "May Dacre" arrived with the rest of the party and their goods, Dr. McLoughlin sent men and boats to convey them all to the place they had selected for their Mission, which was on French Prairie ten miles above the site of the present city of Salem. He also gave them provisions and tools and loaned them cattle. And when in 1838 Jason Lee had started East for reënforcements, Dr. McLoughlin dispatched messengers to notify him of the sudden death of his wife shortly after his departure. These messengers did not overtake Mr. Lee until he reached the Pawnee Mission in eastern Kansas. "From its beginning, and for several years after, the successful maintenance of the Methodist Mission in Oregon was due to the friendly attitude and assistance of Dr. McLoughlin".¹² Indeed, Dr. McLoughlin, who was a religious man, did not decide to join the Roman Catholic Church until 1842.

The Methodist Mission, as a mission to the Indians, was never successful. From causes, not yet fully explained, the Indians of the Willamette and lower Columbia Valleys, which up to that time had been numerous, about the time of

¹² Holman's *Dr. John McLoughlin the Father of Oregon*, pp. 54-59. See also pp. 180-185 where are printed excerpts from Jason Lee's journal bearing testimony to the kindness shown the Americans by Dr. McLoughlin.

the planting of the Mission began to sicken and die until, about the year 1840, they had almost wholly disappeared. As a result the Mission became chiefly a colonizing and commercial enterprise, and in 1843 the church authorities in New York sent out Dr. George Geary with discretionary powers, but with authorization to close up its work. This he did, and sold out all the property of the Mission to its members, except the station at the Dalles. Nevertheless, large additional reënforcements, both lay and clerical, were sent out. Previous to the first immigration to Oregon, in 1842, which came under the leadership of Elijah White, who was sent out by the government as sub-agent for the Indians, the members of the Methodist Mission in Oregon exceeded all the other white people in that country, outside of the employees of the Hudson's Bay Company.¹³ Its stations at the mouth of the Columbia, at the Dalles, and along the Willamette, occupied strategic positions, and became centers of population. Naturally its members became leading and influential men. Elijah White, the first and for many years the only representative of the United States government, George Abernethy, Judge Waite, J. L. Parrish, J. Q. Thornton, and many other influential men, were members of the Mission. Indeed, Oregon was fortunate in having educated men to lay the foundations of the Commonwealth.

The immigration of 1842 was small, but that of 1843¹⁴ and the four subsequent years brought thousands of people into the country. Most of these immigrants were hostile to the British. Their fathers had fought in the Revolutionary War, and they, while assisting in the upbuilding of the States of the Middle West, had had many experiences which

¹³ Holman's *Dr. John McLoughlin the Father of Oregon*, pp. 60-63.

¹⁴ Many people emigrated from Iowa to Oregon in 1843. See *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. X, pp. 415-430.

deepened their own feelings of hostility. Many had come, therefore, with the purpose of helping to wrest Oregon from the claws of the British lion. The policy of our government of prolonging the term of joint occupation and of delaying any action upon the matter, however wise as a policy, was unfortunate in its effect upon those who had gone in to settle the country. The Hudson's Bay Company was there and was carrying on a vast business; and as a matter of fact, had as much right to be there as had the settlers.

There is no doubt that the behaviour of Dr. McLoughlin was uniformly kind and hospitable toward all these immigrants. He was a loyal British subject, and the responsible head of a great business corporation closely connected with the British crown; but he received the American settlers into the Company's quarters, sent boats and men to aid them, gave them supplies and clothing, and extended credit for supplies, tools, and stock, until the newcomers could make a start upon their land. Many of these people had lost all that they had on the long, overland journey and reached Oregon half naked and destitute. All of them had lost much and were without the necessary provisions and tools. Comparatively few had money with which to pay for what they needed. When, after the long, weary journey of months, they reached the "Deaths' Door" of the Cascades — the Dalles — they had to be rescued and helped down through the foaming cataract, where many lives were lost.

There is no record that John McLoughlin ever failed to meet a call of distress, or to extend help. The extent of his services and of Oregon's debt to him can never be estimated. The pages of voluntary testimony that came to him after he was stricken with misfortune were the sole consolation of his declining days.¹⁵

¹⁵ For testimony concerning Dr. McLoughlin's attitude toward the American settlers in Oregon, see the "Illustrative Documents" printed in Holman's *Dr. John McLoughlin the Father of Oregon*, pp. 175-286; and Clarke's *Pioneer Days of Oregon Territory*, pp. 226, 227.

Of course this conduct on the part of its Chief Factor was displeasing to the directors of the Hudson's Bay Company. They and all the members of the Company could only look with alarm at the coming of the Americans. Men were sent out to investigate. Dr. McLoughlin was reprimanded and his presence in London was at once required. The result was that in 1845 he handed in his resignation from a position that paid him \$12,000 a year; and moved into the house which he had already built at Oregon City. He always maintained a dignified silence about all that related to the Company, but it has come to be well known that in the face of the Company he boldly asserted the rights of the Americans, and the necessity of extending aid to them. The decision of the Company was that he should assume all the credits he had given to the settlers — a large sum in the aggregate, and a good part of which was never paid.¹⁶

It is necessary also to mention another circumstance in order to explain the situation. In 1840, after the coming of the "Great Reënforcement" of the Mission, Jason Lee detailed Rev. A. F. Waller to open a station at the Falls of the Willamette, on Dr. McLoughlin's claim. The Chief Factor gave to the church a liberal piece of his land, and a house and storehouse was built. In 1841, it began to be whispered about that Dr. McLoughlin had no right to that claim; and in 1842, John Ricord, a perambulating lawyer, was employed by Mr. Waller to secure the land for him. There were no land laws. No one had any legal rights, for it was still the period of joint occupancy. But in 1844, in order to settle the matter, Dr. McLoughlin gave deeds to the Methodist Church to three blocks and eight lots and paid to the Rev. A. F. Waller the sum of five hundred dollars and secured from him a quit-claim deed of all his right and in-

¹⁶ For an account of McLoughlin's resignation from the Hudson's Bay Company, see Holman's *Dr. John McLoughlin the Father of Oregon*, pp. 90-97.

terest.¹⁷ Furthermore in 1841, Felix Hathaway, a lay member of the Mission, squatted upon the island comprising about four acres of rocks which divides the falls into two parts. The island subsequently passed into the possession of Governor George Abernethy, and received the name of Abernethy's Island. This island, however, was a very important part of Dr. McLoughlin's claim.¹⁸

In the year 1846 Dr. McLoughlin moved into his residence in Oregon City (as the town which grew upon his claim was now called), and continued to reside there until his death. He put in nearly all his fortune in improving and developing the town. In 1850, the buildings which he had erected were estimated as worth upwards of \$90,000. He had improved the water-power, had built a grist-mill which was pronounced as good as any in the States, and two saw-mills, besides stores and other buildings. He had been very liberal in donating lots to educational institutions and churches, and in selling land at low prices and on long time to settlers. Oregon City was then the metropolis of the Territory — its capital and principal business point. Dr. McLoughlin had taken the oath of allegiance to the provisional government, in which he had shared; when the Territorial government was established in 1849, he at once, openly and in the presence of witnesses, made declaration of his intention to become a citizen; and he voted in the first Territorial election for Delegate to Congress. He did not vote for Thurston and told him he would not do so.¹⁹

As has already been noted, about six weeks after Thurston reached Oregon City, in October, 1847, came the news on

¹⁷ The text of the agreement between Dr. McLoughlin and Rev. A. F. Waller is to be found in Holman's *Dr. John McLoughlin the Father of Oregon*, pp. 225, 226.

¹⁸ Holman's *Dr. John McLoughlin the Father of Oregon*, pp. 107, 114-116.

¹⁹ Holman's *Dr. John McLoughlin the Father of Oregon*, pp. 102-106, 120-122.

December 10th, of the massacre and destruction at Whitman's station. The wildest rumors prevailed. The Governor called the Council, and a volunteer company under Captain Lee was raised at once, and sent to save the missionaries at the Dalles and Mr. H. H. Spaulding at Lapwai. Arrangements were also made for a larger force under Major Gilliam to proceed against the Indians, to punish them and to rescue captives said to be in their hands. There was difficulty in obtaining the required outfits, and there was some talk of making a forcible levy upon the stores of the Hudson's Bay Company. Throughout the summer of 1848 there were reports of a general Indian uprising, vague stories of the Roman Catholic priests having incited the Indians to the massacre, tales of the Hudson's Bay people using their great influence to drive out the whites and supplying the Indians with arms and ammunition. The excitement continued throughout the fall and winter of 1848-1849, being fed by the statements of witnesses, who were officially examined and whose testimony seemed to corroborate these charges.²⁰

It was amid these circumstances that Samuel R. Thurston began his short career in Oregon. He had always been a loyal member of the Methodist church and a man of decidedly religious habits. He would, therefore, naturally find his associates among the members of that church who, as has been seen, were leaders in the affairs of the Territory. One year after his arrival Thurston was chosen a member of the last Council of the provisional government of Oregon, from Tualitin (now Marion) County. The Council should

²⁰ Accounts of the Whitman massacre and of the consequent excitement and preparations for defense among the settlers in Oregon may be found in Bancroft's *History of Oregon*, Vol. I, Chs. XXIII, XXIV; Gray's *History of Oregon*, Ch. LXI, and other works dealing with the history of the Pacific Northwest.

have met in November, but owing to the absence of many of its members in California, a quorum could not be obtained. A special election was held and the session began on February 5, 1849. At that session Thurston came speedily to the front, and displayed the readiness of speech and aggressiveness of manner that gained for him such rapid advancement. Although it was late and it was known that the new Governor would soon arrive, some measures of importance were passed, among them being the act for the coinage of money, under which \$50,000 of the famous Beaver Money was issued; and a resolution asking for the presence of United States troops to defend the colony.²¹ The Council adjourned on February 16, 1849, and on March 3rd the Territorial government was inaugurated.

It is said that Thurston had made arrangements to go to California with the current that was running toward the gold mines there. But when the proclamation was issued for the election of a Delegate to Congress he decided to remain and enter the canvass. Oregon at that time was strongly Democratic. There were at least three candidates: Columbia Lancaster, J. W. Nesmith, and Samuel R. Thurston. Lancaster took no part in the canvass, but Nesmith and Thurston made an active campaign. At some places joint debates were held, and it is narrated that the settlers were surprised and pleased to see a young man from the East meet and overcome that old campaigner with his own tactics. The chief subjects discussed were the rights of the settlers as against the great monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company and the various measures Congress should enact for their benefit. Thurston received 470 votes against 473 for all the other candidates, and was declared elected.²² He immediately made preparations for the jour-

²¹ Bancroft's *History of Oregon*, Vol. II, pp. 58-63.

²² Bancroft's *History of Oregon*, Vol. II, pp. 113-116.

ney to Washington, D. C., planning first to visit his old home in Maine.²³

The diary kept by Thurston from November, 1849, to August, 1850, recently published, is a remarkable record of difficult, untiring labor. It begins as he was leaving his old home, and tells how on his way he went to Portsmouth, Boston, Springfield, New York, and Philadelphia, and at each place called upon the editors of newspapers and other prominent men with a view to presenting the claims of Oregon and securing their support for measures in Congress. Assistance was promised by all except Horace Greeley, from whom, he said, "Oregon has nothing to expect." He reached Washington on November 30th, and stopped at Gadsby's hotel. "I felt that much responsibility was upon me" is the record in his diary on that day, "and when I recollected that the interests of all that country west of the Rocky mountains, and between the Latitudes 42 and 49 north were intrusted to my care, I resolved stronger than ever, that no effort of mine should remain unmade which might be beneficial to our noble and beloved Oregon."²⁴ And then for eight months follows an account of incessant labors.

The administration was Whig and Thurston was a Democrat. Oregon was almost unknown. Judge Thornton and Joe Meek, a relative of Mrs. Polk, and all the combined efforts of the friends of Oregon had scarcely obtained the establishment of Oregon as a Territory. Thurston at once paid his respects to all the dignitaries of the national capital and was well received. He constituted himself an infor-

²³ "Thurston was in ill-health when he left Oregon. He travelled in a small boat to Astoria, taking six days for the trip; by sailing vessel to San Francisco, and to Panama by the steamer *Carolina*, being ill at the last place, yet having to ride across the Isthmus, losing his baggage because he was not able to look after the thieving carriers. His determination and ambition were remarkable." — Baneroff's *History of Oregon*, Vol. II, p. 116.

²⁴ *Diary of Samuel Royal Thurston in The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, Vol. XV, pp. 155, 156, 159.

mation bureau to make known the resources of Oregon, undertaking to supply letters and editorials to different papers throughout the East. As a result he was deluged with letters and inquiring visitors, to whom he replied fully, in beautiful language, concerning the attractions and advantages of the Oregon country. He likewise became the business agency and news channel for all the people of Oregon. Not only of all public documents, of which they had very few, did he see that a liberal supply was sent, but he purchased and forwarded newspapers, pamphlets, and books; and he used every effort to secure a Congressional appropriation for libraries for Oregon. He wrote letters, not only for publication in Oregon, but also private letters to keep his constituents informed upon the progress of matters at Washington.

But all this activity was only contributory to the main purpose, of which he never lost sight. In cultivating the favor of those in authority, in forming relationships and securing the aid of voting members of Congress, he was most assiduous and successful. To a most extraordinary degree did Thurston make a favorable impression, by his engaging manner, by his intelligence, and by his persistence that would not be put aside. Not only at the time for Territorial business, but repeatedly even when out of order, he gained permission to offer resolutions or to make amendments. On one occasion after waiting all day, he rose to offer an amendment and was declared out of order. He appealed from the decision and his appeal was sustained, whereupon he altered the amendment and it was carried with only two opposing votes.²⁵ He spoke several times in the House and received respectful attention. "Looking, as Mr. Thurston

²⁵ A full idea of the activities of Thurston as Delegate to Congress may be gained from a perusal of his diary, which is printed in *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, Vol. XV.

does, like a fair specimen of the frontier man, little was expected of him in an oratorical way", was the comment in a New York newspaper. "But he has proved to be one of the most effective speakers in the hall, which has created no little surprise." Another paper stated that "Mr. Thurston is a young man, an eloquent and effective debater, and a bold and active man". His speech on the bill making appropriations for Indian affairs was "so interesting and instructive that his amendments were unanimously agreed to. A great many members shook him heartily by the hand after he had closed; and he was assured that if he had asked \$50,000 after such a speech he would have received it."²⁶

Thurston's lengthy speech upon the admission of California, however, was perhaps his greatest effort. In his diary several days before its delivery is the simple record, "worked on my speech for California". He wrote the speech out in full and then made notes for use in its presentation. He was firmly opposed to the introduction of slavery into California, and his attitude toward the preservation of the Union was expressed in unmistakable terms.²⁷

About this time Thurston had a remarkable dream. He saw persons at work on the capitol building, knocking out the underpinning and foundations of one-half of it. That part of the building began to crack from the ground to the dome and to crumble as though it would fall; while the other half remained standing. The workmen continued their work and the cracking and crumbling became still more pronounced until he could see the sky through the crevice at the top. People were running from one side to the other; and as he sprang from the falling side to that which remained firm his grief was so great that he awoke. "And as soon as I

²⁶ Baneroff's *History of Oregon*, Vol. II, p. 137, note.

²⁷ *Appendix to the Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, pp. 345-354.

awoke, the dream seemed to be a foreshadowing of the dissolution of the Union, and so wrought upon was I that I had no more quiet sleep for the night."²⁸

During his term as Delegate to Congress, Thurston accomplished great things for Oregon. Indeed, his was a record that has perhaps never been surpassed by the first Delegate from any Territory. A complete enumeration of his accomplishments can not be made, but the more important may be listed. He secured the establishment of Oregon City and Nisqually as ports of entry, and the appointment of collectors and surveyors for each port. He was successful in securing the adoption of his bill to extinguish a portion of the Indian title to the land west of the Cascades, and an appropriation of \$140,000 was made for that purpose. Through his efforts regular vessels were instructed to carry the mails to Astoria, and government vessels were to be stationed in the mouth of the Columbia and in Puget Sound. He secured the establishment of mail routes from Oregon City to Astoria, Nisqually, and the Umpqua River and the Yaquina Bay; and he personally attended the letting of the contracts. Other measures adopted largely on account of his influence were: a bill providing that a detachment of troops be stationed in Oregon with instructions to open military roads; an act making a grant of land for the improvement of the Willamette River; a bill calling for the survey of the public lands and making an appropriation for that purpose; a law establishing a land office in Oregon City; and a bill providing for the making of geological surveys, carrying an appropriation of \$25,000. Altogether he secured appropriations amounting to approximately \$350,000,

²⁸ *Diary of Samuel Royal Thurston in The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, Vol. XV, pp. 201, 202.

in addition to the regular expenses of the Territorial government.²⁹

That which was Thurston's main achievement, however, and for which he was planning and preparing all along, was the land bill. Early in the session he had paved the way by his measures to extinguish the Indian titles. Then he introduced resolutions inquiring into the right of the Hudson's Bay Company to enclose public lands; into its right to pasture stock upon the public domain; and into its right to trade and sail its vessels without charge into the ports of entry. These resolutions were carefully drawn and were referred to appropriate committees.

Thurston began work upon the land bill early in April, but when the time came he was shrewd enough to see the advantage of accepting the bill which had for a long time been before the House, and of securing the incorporation in that bill of certain amendments which he desired. This was substantially the bill drawn up by Lewis F. Linn, which had come so near passing in 1848. "I went up to the Land Office to see that our Land bill was ready by Monday", is the record in Thurston's diary on April 13th. All through the spring and early summer reference to his labors in behalf of the land bill appear with increasing frequency. "I attended committee of Public Lands and labored all day among different senators about my land bill", he wrote on August 13th. "Shields appears to be taking the same course that Bowlin did. I have no doubt myself that the agents of Dr. McLoughlin are operating against it. Received and wrote letter from and to Judge Bryant, urging him to come on to help me get the bill through." On the following day he wrote that "I have labored extremely hard trying to get the

²⁹ This statement of Thurston's accomplishments as Delegate to Congress was compiled from his diary, published in *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, Vol. XV; and the *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress.

Land Committee to agree as to the amendments of my bill. It is extremely vexing to have the Land Committee now dally along, the tendency of all of which is to prevent the passage of my bill. I will win, not despair, but fight on while a hair remains on my head. Oregon shan't be overreached if vigilance will prevent it. H. B. Company appears to have many friends."³⁰

At last, toward the very end of the session, Thurston triumphed. His land bill was passed, signed by the president, and became a law. In the debate on that bill in the House of Representatives, on May 28, 1850, Thurston spoke as follows:

This company, [the Hudson's Bay Company] has been warring against our Government for these forty years. Dr. McLoughlin has been their chief fugleman, first to cheat our Government out of the whole country, and next to prevent its settlement. . . . In 1845, he sent an express to Fort Hall, eight hundred miles, to warn the American emigrants that if they attempted to come to Willamette they would all be cut off; they went, and none were cut off. How, sir, would you reward Benedict Arnold, were he living? A bill for his relief would fail, I am sure; yet this bill proposes to reward those who are now, have been, and ever will be, more hostile to our country — more dangerous, because more hidden, more jesuitical.³¹

Furthermore, in a circular letter which Thurston prepared and laid before each member of Congress he made the following statements:

I will next call your attention to the eleventh section of the bill, reserving the town site of Oregon City, known as the "Oregon City Claim". The capital of our territory is located here (Oregon City) and here is the county seat of Clackamas County. It is unquestionably the finest water power in the known world; and as it now is, so will remain, the great inland business point for the Territory.

³⁰ *Diary of Samuel Royal Thurston in The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, Vol. XV, pp. 195, 203.

³¹ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, p. 1079.

This claim has been wrongfully wrested by Dr. McLoughlin from the American citizens. The Methodist Mission first took the claim, with the view of establishing here their mills and Mission. They were forced to leave it under the fear of having the savages of Oregon let loose upon them; and, successively, a number of citizens of our Country have been driven from it, while Dr. McLoughlin was yet at the head of the Hudson's Bay Company, west of the Rocky Mountains. Having at his command the Indians of the country, he has held it by violence and dint of threats up to this time. . . . He is still an Englishman, still connected in interest with the Hudson's Bay Company, and still refuses to file his intentions to become an American citizen. . . . Last summer, he informed the writer of this, that whatever was made out of this claim was to go into the common fund of the Hudson's Bay Company. . . . The children of my Country are looking up to you. . . . They call you "fathers", and ask whether you will put the moral weapons of defence in your children's hands in the shape of education, or whether you will deny it to them, and put means into the hands of him who will turn and rend both you and them.³²

It is difficult to read these words without a feeling of indignation. The statements were all untrue, and Thurston must have known they were untrue. The bill granted the Oregon City claim, except Abernethy's Island which it confirmed to the heirs of Governor Abernethy, for the establishment and endowment of a Methodist University. Dr. McLoughlin was by the act robbed of all his property and, what was even more unbearable to a man of his character, he was publicly branded in the halls of Congress and covered with ignominy and shame.

Owing to the long distance and partly by design the news did not reach Oregon City until about the middle of September, 1850.³³ On September 12th the *Oregon Spectator* published the first knowledge of the eleventh section of the land

³² An extract from this letter, which was first printed in full in the *Oregon Spectator* of September 12, 1850, is to be found in Holman's *Dr. John McLoughlin the Father of Oregon*, pp. 124-127.

³³ See Bancroft's *History of Oregon*, Vol. II, pp. 124, 125.

bill. At once a meeting was called, resolutions were passed, and a petition to Congress was drafted and signed by fifty-six of the best men in the Territory, among whom was W. W. Chapman, protesting against the eleventh section of the bill which it was believed would work a "severe, inequitable, unnecessary, and irremedial injustice". But there were "no telegraph lines in Oregon or California in those days. And the bill was a law eight days thereafter."³⁴

Efforts were made to secure a reconsideration of the matter in Congress, but Governor Lane who was then the Delegate to Congress from Oregon, discouraged the movement, saying that it would endanger the whole bill. "To the honor of the overwhelming majority of the Oregon pioneers, be it said that they took no part in these actions against Dr. McLoughlin, nor did they endorse or sympathize with Thurston's actions and those of his co-conspirators against Dr. McLoughlin."³⁵

At the same time it must be remembered that the land bill was a great boon to Oregon — a law for which the settlers had been hoping and waiting for years. It gave to each of them six hundred and forty acres of the choicest land — their homes. Their highest hopes were realized and Thurston was the hero of the hour. There was rejoicing and festivity throughout all the settlements.

Dr. McLoughlin was not turned out of his home: no one in Oregon would have thought of offering such an indignity to him. He continued to live at Oregon City till his death. Testimonies of affection and gratitude were many, but from that time he began to fail in health and he died on September 3, 1857. In 1862 the legislature of Oregon, with but two dissenting votes restored the Oregon City property to the

³⁴ Bancroft's *History of Oregon*, Vol. II, pp. 126, 127; Holman's *Dr. John McLoughlin the Father of Oregon*, pp. 137, 138.

³⁵ Holman's *Dr. John McLoughlin the Father of Oregon*, pp. 139, 140.

heirs of Dr. McLoughlin and the McLoughlin Association has purchased and is preserving the residence owned by the old Chief Factor. Moreover, a three-quarter sized portrait of Dr. McLoughlin, painted by William Cogswell and paid for by popular subscription, was later hung in the State capitol building back of the chair of the president of the Senate.³⁶

Of Samuel R. Thurston there remains little to be said. At the close of the session of Congress he was worn out and exhausted. Thinking a sea voyage might help him and unable to endure the trip overland, he took ship for his distant Oregon home. But his indomitable will could not sustain him in his fight against ill health, and he expired on ship-board on April 9, 1851, off Acapulco. In 1852 the Oregon legislature passed a bill appropriating \$1500 and appointed a committee to bring his remains and inter them in Oregon soil. This was done and on April 12th a formal funeral was held in the Methodist Church at Salem, at which time Delazon Smith, who was well known in Iowa in the early days, delivered the oration. Thurston's remains were buried in the cemetery at Salem and a shaft of Italian marble twelve feet high was erected over his grave.³⁷ In re-dividing the counties of Washington, which was then a part of Oregon, the legislature of the Territory gave the name of Thurston to the largest and most fertile as a memorial to the first Delegate to Congress.

HIRAM F. WHITE

MILES WASHINGTON

³⁶ Holman's *Dr. John McLoughlin the Father of Oregon*, pp. 160-164.

³⁷ Baneroft's *History of Oregon*, Vol. II, pp. 136-138; *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, Vol. XV, pp. 153, 154.

A WESTERN DEMAND FOR INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS

[One of the constantly recurring demands of the settlers of the Upper Mississippi Valley for many years was for Congressional legislation providing for the improvement of the navigation of the Mississippi River, which, until the coming of the railroads, was the great highway of commerce. A typical demand of this character is to be found in the following editorial copied verbatim from *The Miners' Express* (Dubuque), Vol. III, No. 3, Friday, November 3, 1843.—DAN E. CLARK]

In one short month the 28th of session of Congress will commence, and that the long session too! We wonder if it will sit long enough to attend to the interests of the great West? No part of the whole Union has paid more clear cash into the coffers of Uncle Sam, than the young and prosperous States of the West, bordering upon the mighty Mississippi and her tributaries. What return has the Government ever made to the pioneers for piling in their dollars, and making the wilds of savage life “bloom and blossom like the rose?” *None whatever!* Their great highways, that are capable of being made the finest and most safe inland navigation in the world, have been permitted to fill up with snags, and rendered unsafe by rapids,—our lakes made useless for want of harbors, while the representatives of the *people*(?) have gone on, and lavished with a profligate hand, the money that was exacted from our hardy settlers to building fortifications, making harbors, &c, upon some obscure point, or squalid town upon the shore of the Atlantic. The fostering hand of Government has never been held out to the West, alone, unaided, she has had to contend against great obstructions and impediments;—while old, and worn-out States which neither God nor na-

ture seemingly ever designed for habitation or cultivation, have been the recipients of millions of dollars.

Within the last few years there has been more property destroyed upon our Western rivers, than would clear them of snags, rapids, and all other obstructions!! In one place in the Ohio called the graveyard, there have been more boats lost, and goods destroyed, than would twice pay for the clearing of that river.

Our Government was kind enough to create an Agency to filch a fifth from the hard earnings of the laborious miner, — but Congress has never had magnanimity scarcely to vote one dollar for the removing of the obstructions of the Rapids, which are the great impediment to the transporting of our useful staple. Nor would we inhabiting the Mineral region, be so selfish as to utter only our own complaints upon this occasion, but rather give vent to the outbreaks of the pent up indignation of the whole North West. Congress should turn its attention to the improvement of Western waters — the people of the entire North West demand it, for it affects not only their own interest, but the trade of the whole valley of the Mississippi!! Let her representatives remember this, let them make for once an appropriation for the West, and if done, let us have no wasp-waisted dandies imported to oversee the work, but put it in the care of some sound old practical pioneer who will not waste the money in wild-goose pranks.

The present session appears to us particularly auspicious for the interest of the West. All her members should be most emphatically Western representatives, and tend to the true interests of their constituents. With an increase of Western members under the new apportionment — entirely new representatives from many states — we look forward anxiously for some measure that shall speak devotion to Western interests. Let, gentleman, the subjects of Bank,

Tariff, and President-making alone for a little while, and go in for improving Western navigation, and the voices of two or three millions of freemen shall sing hosannas to your names, and you will certainly rejoice in the sentence of — “well done, good and faithful servants.”

SOME PUBLICATIONS

The County Archives of the State of Illinois. By THEODORE CALVIN PEASE. (*Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, Vol. XII.) Springfield: The Illinois State Historical Library. 1915. Pp. cxli, 730. This large volume "owes its existence to the recognition by the trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library that their task of setting forth the sources for the history of the state would be left uncompleted without a detailed account of the materials of interest to the social scientist to be found in the various county courthouses. The trustees wished also to determine, during the preparation of such an account, if the conditions surrounding the county records are such as will insure their preservation."

About one hundred and twenty pages are devoted to excellent introductory material. First there is a general discussion of the county archives of Illinois, including a description of the various types of records, an estimate of their historical importance, and suggestions relative to methods of making and preserving local records. Then the archives of various county offices, such as the clerk of the circuit court, the recorder, the county clerk, and the clerk of the probate court, are treated in much the same manner but in greater detail.

Then follow lists of the records preserved in the various counties of the State, arranged alphabetically by counties and classified as a rule according to office and character. The lists for different counties vary somewhat in completeness and in method of arrangement, owing to the fact that the survey was conducted at various times by several people. At the head of each list is a brief note stating a few facts in the history of the county, and indicating the manner in which the records are made and preserved in that county.

No argument need now be used to prove the value of local archives from an historical and administrative standpoint. It is only on the basis of such works as the one under consideration that there can be worked out a scientific, uniform plan of making and pre-

serving such records. Other States may well make investigations similar to that made in Illinois.

The Riverside History of the United States. Four volumes. Edited by WILLIAM E. DODD. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1915. There are several noteworthy features of this series, which comprises a total of 1272 pages exclusive of the prefatory matter and the index in each volume. In the first place, there can be no complaint that wars and military operations are given an undue amount of space. On the other hand, a special effort has been made throughout to emphasize the social and economic factors in American history. Again, the southern and especially western viewpoint is presented more fully than in any previous work of a similar character. In fact, of the four authors one was born and educated in the Middle West, and all of them have taught in this region long enough to become impressed with the importance of western history.

Carl Lotus Becker of the University of Kansas is the author of the first volume, entitled *Beginnings of the American People* (275 pp.). Its chief features are the attention given to the European background; the more than customary emphasis on the English, rather than the colonial, viewpoint of the period under discussion; and the interpretative method of treating the long story of colonial establishments, growth, and problems, closing with the winning of independence. While this volume may not prove as useful for reference purposes as the other books in the series, it is perhaps more easily read, both because of its literary style and because of the necessary elimination of details in covering so long a period.

Union and Democracy (346 pp.) is the title of the second volume, and the writer is Allen Johnson of Yale University, who was for several years professor of history in Grinnell College. The first ten chapters, covering one hundred and ninety-six pages and including a good chapter on the purchase of Louisiana, bring the reader down to the close of the Jeffersonian period. Out of nearly fifty pages devoted to the causes, military operations, and results of the War of 1812 about one-third are given to the military operations. The remaining one hundred pages deal with the political, social, and economic developments in the United States from the close of the war

to the beginning of the Jacksonian era, in six chapters on the westward movement, hard times, the national awakening, the new democracy, politics and State rights, and the rise of national sovereignty. Professor Johnson's volume is clearly written, definite, and well proportioned.

In the third volume, on *Expansion and Conflict* (329 pp.), written by William E. Dodd of Chicago University and the editor of the series, the narrative is carried from the year 1829 to the close of the Civil War. "The purpose of this volume", says the author, "is to show the action and reaction of the most important social, economic, political, and personal forces that have entered into the make-up of the United States as a nation. The primary assumption of the author is that the people of this country did not compose a nation until after the close of the Civil War in 1865." Few persons are so well prepared for such a work by personal research in southern history during the ante-bellum period as Professor Dodd; and he has also profited by studies made in recent years by others whose viewpoint has been western. As a result he has presented a view of the forty years of sectional conflict which is distinctly different from that usually found in works of this kind. Especially has he taken advantage of the numerous monographs on State and local history in the Middle West. Occasionally slips occur, as giving 1846 as the year of the admission of Wisconsin into the Union (p. 198); or the implication (p. 199) that the Indian title to a considerable portion of Iowa soil remained to be extinguished during the fifties.

Finally, *The New Nation* (342 pp.), by Frederic L. Paxson of the University of Wisconsin, covers the period from 1865 to 1914, and the title is explained in the preface as based upon the fact that "a new nation has appeared within the United States since the Civil War. . . . The Constitution emerged . . . substantially unchanged, but the economic development of the United States in the sixties and seventies gave birth to a society that was, by 1885, already national in its activities and necessities".

In reality *The New Nation* is a new history of the period (from the Civil War to the present) which is now coming to be regarded as an epoch by writers of history. This period has brought home to careful students the important influence of economic and social

forces in American history, and Professor Paxson has more clearly perceived this fact than any other historian who has treated the same events. The titles of some of his chapters indicate the kind of topics emphasized, and his grasp upon the fundamental factors: "Business and Politics"; "The Farmers' Cause"; "Populism"; "Free Silver"; "Big Business"; "The 'Muck-Rakers'"; and "The New Nationalism".

The point of view of the author is western rather than eastern and his attitude is consequently broader and his perspective more correct than if he had written with his face toward Europe. Constitutional questions are made subordinate, while economic and social factors are given a prominent place. An occasional error in dealing with so many facts is to be anticipated — the first national nominating convention of the Populists met at Omaha in 1892 not as stated at St. Louis (p. 209). Bishop Potter's sermon, preached at the centennial of the Constitution, was delivered in 1889, instead of in 1887 (p. 246). On the whole, Professor Paxson has given the best systematic treatment of the latest phase in American history yet published.

The Searchlight on Congress is the name of a new publication which made its appearance in February. It is "published monthly by the National Voters' League to acquaint the people with their lawmakers".

A. E. Winship is the author of a series of articles entitled *Educators as I have Known Them* which is running in the *Journal of Education*.

The United States Bureau of Education has issued a bulletin entitled *The University and the Municipality* which contains a summary of the proceedings of the first session of the National Association of Municipal Universities.

Among the articles in the *Political Science Quarterly* for December are the following: *The Virginia Debt Controversy*, by James G. Randall; *Competition and Capital*, by Oswald W. Knauth; and *The First Year of the New Banking System*, by H. Parker Willis.

Reconstruction and Education in Virginia, by Edgar W. Knight; and *The North Carolina Fund for Internal Improvements*, by William K. Boyd, are articles which appear in the January number of *The South Atlantic Quarterly*.

A dissertation upon *The Operation of the Freedmen's Bureau in South Carolina*, by Laura J. Webster, occupies the January number of the *Smith College Studies in History*.

An address by George Evan Roberts on the *Economic Position of the United States at the Close of the War*, which was delivered before the Clark University Conference on Problems and Lessons of the War in December, 1915, has been published in pamphlet form by the National City Bank of New York.

Dr. E. H. Downey, who is well known as the author of two volumes in the *Iowa Economic History Series*, is the writer of an excellent article on *The Classification of Industries for Workmen's Compensation Insurance*, which has been reprinted from the *Proceedings of the Casualty Actuarial and Statistical Society of America*.

In the September number of the *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* there is a partial bibliography of works relating to *Political Parties in the United States, 1800-1914*, compiled by Alta Chaffin.

In the *National Municipal Review* for January there may be found, among others, the following articles: *American Conceptions of Municipal Government*, by Clinton Rogers Woodruff; *Coming of Age: Municipal Progress in Twenty-one Years*, by William Dudley Foulke; and *The Ashtabula Plan — The Latest Step in Municipal Organization*.

Unlawful Possession of Intoxicating Liquors and the Webb-Kenyon Act, by Lindsay Rogers, is the opening article in the *Columbia Law Review* for January. Samuel C. Wiel discusses *Public Service Irrigation Companies*. Two articles in the March number are: *The Federal Trade Commission*, by Charles W. Needham; and *The Doctrine of an Inherent Right of Local Self-government*, by Howard Lee McBain.

A study of *The Boycott in American Trade Unions*, by Leo Wolman, constitutes a recent number in the *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*. The six chapters deal with the nature of the boycott, the history of the boycott, the boycott on materials, the boycott on commodities, the mechanism of the boycott, and the law and the boycott.

The fourth number of volume one of the new quarterly periodical known as *The Catholic Historical Review* appeared in January. The four articles printed in this number are as follows: *Chronology of the Catholic Hierarchy of the United States*, by Owen B. Corrigan; *The Preservation of Ecclesiastical Documents*, by J. C. Fitzpatrick; *The Right Rev. Richard Luke Concanen, O. P., the First Bishop of New York*, by V. F. O'Daniel; and *The Rise of National Catholic Churches in the United States*, by N. A. Weber.

The February number of the periodical known as *Special Libraries* contains the *Report of the Committee on Municipal Reference Libraries and Archives*, made to the National Municipal League; and a *List of Recent References on Public Service Rates with Special Reference to Regulation*, compiled by H. H. B. Meyer. In the March number there is an article describing the *Federal Trade Commission Library*, by Carlos C. Houghton; and a discussion of *The Legislative Reference Bureau as a Bill Revising Agency*, by J. F. Marron.

Arthur W. H. Eaton writes about Sir John Wentworth and the Duke of Kent in the fourth installment of his *Chapters in the History of Halifax, Nova Scotia*, which appears in the December number of *Americana*. There is also a continuation of the *Recollections of a Half Century and More*, by Andrew M. Sherman. S. G. Lapham contributes a brief note concerning a memorial which has been erected in Lapham Park in Milwaukee to Increase A. Lapham, who is called the father of the United States Weather Bureau.

The March number of *The American Labor Legislation Review* contains the proceedings of the ninth annual meeting of the *American Association for Labor Legislation*. Aside from the presidential address by Henry R. Seager, on *American Labor Legislation*, the

papers deal with various phases of social insurance and protective legislation for seamen.

Cost and Value of Service in Railroad Rate-making, by M. O. Lorenz; *Joint Costs with Especial Regard to Railways*, by Lewis H. Haney; *Currency Depreciation in Time of War*, by A. C. Whitaker; and *The Amalgamated Copper Company: A Closed Chapter in Corporation Finance*, by F. E. Richter, are among the articles in the February number of *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*.

Earl G. Swem is the compiler of *A Bibliography of Virginia*, containing the titles of books in the Virginia State Library which either relate to Virginia or Virginians, were written by Virginians, or were printed in Virginia. This bibliography, published by the Virginia State Library, occupies more than seven hundred and fifty pages, including an elaborate index. It will be supplemented by additional lists from time to time.

National Industries and the Federal Government is the general topic of discussion in the January number of *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. The numerous papers are grouped into four parts devoted to the Federal Trade Commission and its problems, the Federal Reserve Board and its accomplishments, the Interstate Commerce Commission and its work, and other federal departments in their relation to American industries.

The Immigrants in America Review is the title of a new quarterly publication, the fourth number of which appeared in January. Frances A. Kellor is at the head of the editorial staff, and on the advisory editorial board are such well known persons as Mary Antin, Emily Baleh, Winston Churchill, Herbert Croly, Frederic C. Howe, Woods Hutchinson, Walter Lippmann, Percy Mackaye, S. S. McClure, Graham Taylor, and others of equal note. The object of the publication is to promote the welfare and the thorough Americanization of the millions of immigrants in this country.

A new historical quarterly made its appearance in January, namely, *The Journal of Negro History*, edited by Carter G. Wood-

son of Washington, D. C. The following articles are to be found in the initial number: *The Negroes of Cincinnati Prior to the Civil War*, by Carter G. Woodson; *The Story of Maria Louise Moore and Fannie M. Richards*, by W. B. Hartgrove; *The Passing Tradition and the African Civilization*, by Monroe N. Work; and *The Mind of the African Negro as Reflected in his Proverbs*, by A. O. Stafford. The periodical, which gives promise of great usefulness, also contains sections devoted to documents, book reviews, and notes.

The Nature and Method of History, by Samuel B. Harding; *American Revolutionary History in High School*, by Clark E. Persinger; and *Public Discussion as a Civic Duty*, by Elmer C. Griffith, are articles which appear in the January number of *The History Teacher's Magazine*. The February number contains, among others, the following articles: *American Diplomatic History in High School*, by Carl Russell Fish; *How the Furs Came Down from the North Country*, by L. A. Chase; and *Standards for Community Civics*, by D. W. Horton. Recent American history is the central theme of discussion in the March number, two of the articles being *The Study of Recent American History*, by Frederic L. Paxson; and *Recent American History Through the Actors' Eyes*, by Charles R. Lingley.

Ginn and Company have brought out a volume of more than three hundred pages on the *Growth of American State Constitutions from 1776 to the End of the Year 1914*, by James Quayle Dealey of Brown University. The twenty-two chapters are grouped into three parts. The first part, comprising about one-third of the book, is devoted to the history of State constitutions. Part two consists of an excellent analysis of the provisions of the existing State constitutions. The author is in error (p. 153) in indicating that by constitutional provision in Iowa "women taxpayers" are allowed "to vote on certain referenda involving expenditures". In part three there is pointed out the trend in State constitutions, wherein the author shows himself to be fully in accord with the best of the recent movements for the reorganization of State government. It is unfortunate that a book containing so much valuable data is not provided with an adequate index.

In January there appeared the first number of *The Military Historian and Economist*, a newly-launched, quarterly periodical, published by the Harvard University Press. Mr. A. L. Conger of Fort Leavenworth and Mr. R. M. Johnston of Harvard University are the editors. In view of the possibility that the United States may not escape becoming involved in the great war special interest attaches to the opening article in which Contre-Admiral Degouy gives his expert opinion on the subject of *Hostile Submarine Action on the American Seaboard*. Justin H. Smith speaks from extensive experience in discussing the *Sources for a History of the Mexican War, 1846-1848*. A critical discussion of *Fort Donelson*, by A. L. Conger, reveals the importance of the economic factors in war. Seven pages are devoted to some pertinent comments on *The Question of Guam*, by B. H. Richard; and the problem of *Financing the "Armed Nation"* is discussed by O. M. W. Sprague. After sections devoted to comment, tactical notes, economic notes, and book reviews there is the first installment of the *Personal Memoirs of Major-General D. S. Stanley*.

Charles H. Sherrill is the author of an entertaining volume entitled *French Memories of Eighteenth-Century America*, which has been published by Charles Scribner's Sons. The material is taken, as the title indicates, from the memoirs of various Frenchmen who visited this country as soldiers during the Revolutionary War or as travelers, voluntary or involuntary, in the intervening years before the close of the century. On the whole, the comments of these visitors are friendly and sympathetic in tone. They present an excellent picture of social life, dress, marriage customs, physical traits, city life, country life, means of travel, education, newspapers, religious observances, the learned professions, labor, manufacture, trade, and other manifestations of life in America during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. It is to be regretted that it did not fall in with the author's plan to include some observations of travelers in the West, which region, except for a slight reference to New Orleans, is entirely neglected.

WESTERN AMERICANA

The quarterly bulletin published by the Indiana State Library in December contains a *Bibliography on Country Life, the Farm and the Small Town*.

Two numbers of the *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* which have recently been issued are: *Costumes of the Plains Indians*, by Clark Wissler; and *Associations and Ceremonies of the Menomini Indians*, by Alanson Skinner.

An illuminating monograph on *The Influence of Anthropology on the Course of Political Science*, by John Linton Myres, constitutes volume four, number one of the *University of California Publications in History*.

Volume seventeen, number five of *The University of Missouri Bulletin* contains a brief monograph by Frank Fletcher Stephens on *The Monroe Doctrine: Its Origin, Development and Recent Interpretation*.

An interesting account of military life on the western frontier during the years following the close of the Civil War is to be found in the *Recollections of an Old Cavalryman*, by Ezra B. Fuller, which appear in the *Journal of the United States Cavalry Association* for January.

Among the contributions in *The University of California Chronicle* for January is a paper on *The Rural Credit System Needed in Western Development*, by Elwood Mead.

A booklet of about one hundred pages, by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., is entitled *The Colorado Industrial Plan* and contains an article on *Labor and Capital — Partners* and two addresses by Mr. Rockefeller, the plan of employees' representation, and the agreement between the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company and its employees.

A paper on the history and results of *State Aid and State Supervision*, by A. R. Hirst, appears in *The Road-Maker* for December. *Financing Road Improvements* is the subject of an address by D. W. Norris which is printed in the January number. *The Old Overland*

Trail in Missouri, by Edgar White; and an account of the *Old King's Highway*, or *El Camino Real*, are articles in the March number.

Dichotomous Social Organization in South Central California, by Edward W. Gifford; *Composition of California Shell Mounds*, by the same author; and *The Mutsun Dialect of Costanoan Based on the Vocabulary of de la Cuesta*, by J. Alden Mason, are recent numbers of the *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*.

An interesting, illustrated article on *The Confederate Invasion of New Mexico — 1861–62*, is begun in the January number of the magazine known as *Old Santa Fe*. Military operations in the Mesilla Valley and the battle of Valverde, February 20, 1862, are described in this installment. Another contribution, on a phase of more ancient history, is an article on *Otermin's Attempt to Reconquer New Mexico, 1681–1682*, by Charles Wilson Hackett.

A paper by O. G. Libby, entitled *One Hundred Years of Peace*, occupies the opening pages of *The Quarterly Journal of the University of North Dakota* for January. Andrew A. Bruce briefly discussed *The Value and Necessity of a College Education to the Practising Lawyer*. There is an address on *Recent Social and Industrial Tendencies in the United States*, which was delivered by Frank L. MeVey at the University of Christiania in Norway in September, 1912. *Life in Congress 1850–1861*, as seen through episodes in the career of Benjamin F. Wade, is described by Albert T. Vollweiler.

The Life of Lyman Trumbull, written by Horace White, and published by the Houghton Mifflin Company of Boston, is a volume of great interest and value, especially to students of history in the Middle West. Lyman Trumbull was United States Senator from Illinois from 1855 to 1873 — a period of vital importance in American history, during which he was a figure of no small influence. Moreover, the volume possesses special merit because of the author's intimate acquaintance with Trumbull and his thorough knowledge of the history of the period covered. An interesting feature of the preface is the author's frank acknowledgment that he had been

wrong in supporting the Congressional policy of Reconstruction, and that "Andrew Johnson's policy, which was Lincoln's policy, was the true one, and ought never to have been departed from. This is the conclusion to which I have come, after much study, in the evening of a long life." Iowans will find in the volume some material relative to William B. Allison, W. W. Belknap, Augustus C. Dodge, Grenville M. Dodge, James Harlan, Bernhart Henn, James F. Wilson, and especially concerning James W. Grimes, whom the author characterizes as "a man of granite mould, of unblemished character, undaunted courage, keen discernment, and untiring industry."

IOWANA

There is a brief article on *German Russian Colonies in America*, by Freda Medley, in the March number of *Autumn Leaves*.

A new Iowa publication, devoted to the interests of the insurance business and called *The Successful Underwriter*, made its appearance in March. It is published in Des Moines.

Two articles on *Negroes and Freemasonry*, by Harry A. Williamson, may be found in the January and February numbers of *The American Freemason*.

Aside from continuations of biographical and autobiographical material the principal contribution in the January number of the *Journal of History*, published at Lamoni, Iowa, is an article on *The Nauvoo Charter*, by Samuel A. Burgess.

A *Population Bulletin* containing statistics of the census of Iowa taken in 1915, compiled by A. U. Swan, has been issued by the Executive Council.

Extension Division Bulletin, number fourteen, published by the State University of Iowa, consists of an *Iowa Handbook on Child Welfare*.

Iowa, the State with the Least Amount of Illiteracy, by A. M. Deyoe; and *Iowa's Contribution to the Educational Work of the World*, by Homer H. Seerley, are two articles in the February num-

ber of *Midland Schools*. In the March number E. E. Lewis discusses *The Financial Value of General Education*.

An unsigned article on *The Spirit of the Middle West* appears in the January number of *The Midland*, published at Iowa City. In the February number *The Appeal of the Middle West to the Literary Historian* is briefly pointed out by Dan E. Clark.

Stockholders' Liability in Iowa, by Elmer A. Wilcox, in the January number; and *Recording of Instruments Affecting Land*, by Percy Bordwell, and *Damages in Rate Discrimination at Common Law*, by Charles D. Waterman, in the March number, are recent articles in the *Iowa Law Bulletin*.

A book entitled *The Recognition of Jesse Badleigh*, written by H. H. Green, has been printed at Decorah, Iowa. While it is primarily a work of fiction, it nevertheless contains material relative to the early history of Decorah and incidents connected with the massacres by the Sioux Indians.

How Sioux City is Governed is the title of a small book by S. O. Rorem, instructor of business law and civics in the Sioux City High School. There are forty-two chapters explaining in non-technical language the functions and operation of every form of government which touches the people of Sioux City, from municipal to federal.

The Old Capitol Building: A Plea for its Preservation, by Theodore A. Wanerus, is an appeal in the February number of *The Iowa Alumnus* which should find a response in the shape of funds with which to make fire-proof this historic building. In the March number there are two *Historical Sketches of the Young Women's Christian Association*.

The *Report of the Committee on Judicial Opinions*, by Ben P. Poor; and the *Report of the Committee on Taxation*, by W. C. Cross, are to be found in the January number of *American Municipalities*. Articles in the March number are: *Liquor Censorship at Mason City*, by W. T. Forbes; *Home Rule for Iowa Municipalities*, by James R. Hanna; *Some Municipal Problems*, by A. J. Mercer; and *State Legislation for Municipalities*, by David E. Stuart.

In *The Alumnus of Iowa State College* for January there is a brief sketch of the career of *Carrie Chapman Catt* — *President National Suffrage Association*. A tribute to *Harriette Kellogg*, written by L. H. Pammel, appears in the February number. In March H. R. O'Brien outlines *What Iowa State College Does for the People of Iowa*.

A volume of *Recollections and Sketches of Notable Lawyers and Public Men of Early Iowa* is being prepared for publication by Edward H. Stiles, who is well qualified for such a task. He was for many years a member of the Iowa bar, served in both houses of the legislature during the last years of the Civil War, was Reporter of the Supreme Court of Iowa from 1867 to 1875, and is the author of a valuable digest of the decisions of that court.

The proceedings of the sixteenth annual conference of the Iowa Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, held at Burlington in October, 1915, fill a volume of about two hundred pages. Of special interest from the standpoint of Iowa history are the reports of the historian and of the committees on early Iowa trails and the preservation of historic spots in Iowa. There is also *Judge Luke Palmer's Address on Black Hawk*, delivered at Crapo Park in Burlington.

SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS BY IOWA AUTHORS

Abbott, Keene,

Wind Fighters (Outlook, January 12, 1916).

Aurner, Clarence Ray,

History of Education in Iowa. Volumes III and IV. Iowa City: The State Historical Society of Iowa. 1916.

Bassett, Basil Blain,

Lyrics of Leisure. Humboldt: Published by the author. 1916.

Becker, Carl Lotus,

Beginnings of the American People. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1915.

Betts, George Herbert,

Fathers and Mothers. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co. 1915.

Bowman, Melville Le Roy,

Corn: Growing, Judging, Breeding, Feeding, Marketing.

Waterloo, Iowa: Published by the author. 1915.

Carver, Thomas Nixon,

Selected Readings in Rural Economics. New York: Ginn & Co. 1916.

Devine, Edward Thomas,

Pauperism: An Analysis. New York: School of Philanthropy. 1916.

Through Good Will to Peace (Survey, December 18, 1915);

Profession in the Making (Survey, January 1, 1916);

Academic Freedom (Survey, February 5, 1916).

Fields, Jessie,

Community Civics. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1916.

Gates, Isabel Smith,

The Life of George Augustus Gates. Boston: The Pilgrim Press. 1915.

Gillin, John Lewis,

The Paroling of Prisoners Sentenced to Jails with Special Reference to the Situation in Wisconsin (Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology, January, 1916).

Gjerset, Knut,

History of the Norwegian People. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1915.

Griffith, Helen Sherman,

Letty at the Conservatory. Philadelphia: Penn Publishing Co. 1915.

Haynes, Fred E.,

Third Party Movements Since the Civil War with Special Reference to Iowa. Iowa City: The State Historical Society of Iowa. 1916.

Hough, Emerson,

On His Own (Sunset, January, 1916); *Believing and Doing* (American Magazine, March, 1916).

Hughes, Rupert,

Clipped Wings. New York: Harper Bros. 1916.

Hurlburt, Rollo Franklin,

Six Fools. New York and Cincinnati: The Methodist Book Concern. 1916.

Hutchinson, Woods,

Making Boys Fit for Service (Good Housekeeping, February, 1916).

King, Irving,

Education for Social Efficiency. (Enlarged edition.) New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1915.

McGee, Emma R.,

Life of W J McGee. Farley, Iowa: Privately printed. 1915.

Ott, Edward Amherst,

Financing Beauty (American City, Town and Country Edition, January, 1916).

Patrick, George T. W.,

The Psychology of Relaxation. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1916.

Roberts, George Evan,

Economic Position of the United States at the Close of the War. New York: The National City Bank of New York. 1916.

Ross, Edward Alsworth,

Acquisitive Mimicry (American Journal of Sociology, January, 1916).

Sabin, Edwin Legrand,

In the Orchestra Circle — a Trip to the Dentist (American Magazine, January, 1916).

Simms, Paris Marion,

Modern Methods in Church Work: Activities of the First Presbyterian Church, Vinton, Iowa (Biblical World, December, 1915).

Starch, Daniel,

Some Experimental Data on the Value of Studying Foreign Languages (School Review, December, 1915).

Steiner, Edward Alfred,

The Confessions of a Hyphenated American. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co. 1916.

Swem, Earl G.,

A Bibliography of Virginia. Richmond: Virginia State Library. 1916.

Welliver, Judson Churchill,

The Automobile in Our County (Collier's, January 8, 1916).

SOME RECENT HISTORICAL ITEMS IN IOWA NEWSPAPERS

The Des Moines Register and Leader

The Stutsman Family, Pioneers of Des Moines, by William Fleming, January 2, 1916.

Sketch of the life of Grenville M. Dodge, January 4, 1916.

General Dodge — An Indian Fighter, January 5, 1916.

Senator Kenyon's Proposed National Park in Iowa, January 16, 1916.

Allamakee County a Vast Beauty Spot, by A. M. May, January 17, 1916.

Iowa-Nebraska Boundary Question, February 3, 1916.

Sketch of the life of William P. Hepburn, February 8, 1916.

Sketch of the life of C. L. Watrous, February 10, 1916.

William Duane Wilson — Uncle of President Wilson, February 12, 1916.

Sketch of the life of Henry Wallace, February 24, 1916.

Henry Wallace's Last Words, February 25, 1916.

Tributes to Henry Wallace, February 26, 1916.

Progress in Improvement of Capitol Grounds, February 27, 1916.

Thaddeus G. Stanton — Iowa Newspaper Man who was Paymaster General, February 27, 1916.

History of the Region Included in the Proposed National Park in Northeastern Iowa, by E. E. Fallows, February 27, March 5, 12, 1916.

Did Zachary Taylor's Daughter Elope to Iowa to Marry Jefferson Davis, February 28, 1916.

First Church Built in Iowa, February 28, 1916.

From Newsboy to Circus Magnate is Iowan's History, March 5, 1916

Thomas H. Read, President of Five Iowa Banks, March 10, 1916.

Iowa Dairy Farm that Grew out of a Delayed Train, March 12, 1916.

Developing Old Parmalee Trail, March 15, 1916.

How to Save Old Capitol at Iowa City from Fire a Serious Problem,
March 19, 1916.

The Burlington Hawk-Eye

Old Times in Burlington, in each Sunday issue.

Sketch of the life of William J. Ross who Came to Burlington in
1833, January 2, 1916.

Sketch of the life of Robert J. Denny, a Pioneer of Des Moines
County, January 2, 1916.

Progress Made by Burlington in 1915, January 4, 1916.

Sketch of the life of James N. Martin, January 4, 1916.

Tributes to W. E. Blake, January 4, 1916.

Meeting in Memory of W. E. Blake and E. S. Huston, January 7,
1916.

Sketch of the life of John A. Miller, January 8, 1916.

James H. Jordan's Story of Chief Black Hawk, January 16, 1916.

Sketch of the life of Corwin W. Cornell, January 19, 1916.

Early Settlers and Indians in Southeastern Iowa, by James H.
Jordan, Indian Trader, January 23, 30, February 6, 13, 1916.

Sketch of the life of George C. Henry, January 23, 1916.

First Iowa State Fair, January 30, 1916.

Career of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, February 19, 1916.

Sketch of the life of Webster M. Pixley of Mt. Pleasant, February
22, 1916.

Leaders of Civil War from Iowa, March 12, 1916.

Notes about Former Residents of Burlington, March 19, 26, 1916.

Miscellaneous

The Winter of 1856-7, in the *Algona Advance*, January 5, 1916.

The Editors of the Free Press, in the *Mount Pleasant Free Press*,
January 6, 1916.

To Iowa in the Early Fifties, by Caroline Soule, in the *Ogden Re-
porter*, January 6, 1916.

Some Early History of Cerro Gordo County, in the *Clear Lake
Mirror*, January 6, 1916.

- Forty-three Years Ago in Webster City, in the *Webster City Freeman-Tribune*, January 7, 1916.
- Sketch of the life of Oliver P. Shiras, in the *Dubuque Times-Journal*, January 8, 1916.
- First Steamboat up the Mississippi, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, January 9, 1916.
- Reminiscences of Clayton County, running in the *Elkader Register-Argus*.
- Early Settlers and Indians in Southeastern Iowa, in the *Keosauqua Republican*, January 13, 20, 27, February 3, 1916.
- Personal Recollections of Early Days in Southeastern Iowa, in the *Ottumwa Courier*, January 15, 1916.
- Second Rush of Whites to the Lead Mines, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, January 16, 1916.
- Tribute to Judge Shiras, in the *Dubuque Times-Journal*, January 16, 1916.
- Old Marion County, running in the *Knoxville Express*.
- Sketch of the life of S. W. Hastings, in the *Osage Press*, January 19, 1916.
- Prairie Fires in the Seventies, in the *Marcus News*, January 20, 1916.
- Indian Arrow-heads and Stone Weapons, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, January 23, 1916.
- Sketch of the life of Charles M'Clean, in the *Dubuque Times-Journal*, January 23, 1916.
- Early Taylor County, in the *Bedford Times-Republican*, January 27, 1916.
- H. C. Pierce Tells of Journey to California Sixty-five Years Ago, running in the *Traer Star-Clipper* in January, 1916.
- The Frontier Sketches, running in the *Burlington Post*.
- Early Politics in Iowa, in the *Des Moines Capital*, February 3, 1916.
- Our Early German Settlers, in the *Des Moines Plain Talk*, February 3, 1916.
- The Early History of Iowa City, by Mrs. W. G. Bailey, in the *Iowa City Citizen*, February 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 1916.
- First Home Built in Davenport by Antoine Le Claire Still Stands, in the *Davenport Times*, February 5, 1916.

- Major Hugo Hoffbauer Recalls Incidents of Early Steamboat Days on the Mississippi, in the *Davenport Times*, February 5, 1916.
- Governor Kirkwood, in the *Marion Register*, February 8, 1916.
- Sketch of the life of Charles L. Watrous, in the *Des Moines Capital*, February 9, 1916.
- Early Days in Iowa, in the *Knoxville Express*, February 9, March 8, 1916.
- Execution of Forty Indians, in the *Terril Tribune*, February 10, 1916.
- Early History of Montgomery County, in the *Red Oak Express*, February 11, 18, 25, March 3, 10, 17, 24, 31, 1916.
- Indian Agents in the United States, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, February 13, 1916.
- Anniversaries of Admission of States, in the *Mason City Times*, February 15, 1916.
- Reply to Article on "How Walt Butler Went to Congress", in the *Waukon Standard*, February 17, 1916.
- Proposed National Park is Center of Great Natural and Historic Interest, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, February 20, 1916.
- The Pioneer Life of Eldora Settlers, in the *Eldora Herald*, February 24, 1916.
- Early History Recalled by Judge Silwold, in the *Newton Record*, March 2, 1916.
- First White Man's Home in Central Iowa is Still a Warren County Landmark, in the *Indianola Record*, March 2, 1916.
- Sketch of the life of William Graham, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, March 3, 1916.
- Iowa in 1869: Recollections of a Homesteader, by Myron E. Hinkley, in the Sunday issues of the *Sioux City Journal* in February and March, 1916.
- George Bateman Hauled State Treasurer's Safe to Des Moines, in the *Grinnell Herald*, March 7, 1916.
- Missouri Toughs at Winterset in Early Days, by W. H. Lewis, in the *Winterset News*, March 8, 1916.
- Sketch of the life of Wiley B. Ray, in the *Keokuk Gate-City*, March 8, 1916.

- McGregor Seat of Early Railroad Schemes, in the *Decorah Journal*, March 8, 1916.
- Robert Haney — Last Survivor of the Men Who Organized Carroll County, in the *Carroll Herald*, March 8, 1916.
- Reminiscences of Early Pioneer Days, by the late Mrs. Woods of Sutherland, in the *Paullina Times*, March 9, 1916.
- Iowa's War Generals, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican*, March 9, 1916.
- E. E. Dotson Recalls Pioneer Days, in the *Colfax Tribune*, March 9, 1916.
- Life in Iowa During the Sixties, in the *Nashua Reporter*, March 9, 1916.
- Boosting for Des Moines, in the *Nevada Representative*, March 10, 1916.
- Patrick Corbley of Cedar Falls — Iowa's Oldest Citizen, in the *Cedar Falls Record*, March 15, 1916.
- History of First Swedish Settlers in Iowa, in the *Fairfield Journal*, March 15, 1916.
- Story of the Development of Cherokee County, in the *Cherokee Times*, March 16, 1916.
- Pioneer Days in Van Buren County, in the *Keosauqua Republican*, March 16, 1916.
- Two Poweshiek County Pioneers, in the *Grinnell Herald*, March 17, 1916.
- Early Times in Allamakee County, by A. M. May, in the *Waukon Republican*, March 22, 1916.
- Hardships During Early Days in Northern Iowa, by Mrs. D. W. King, in the *Algona Advance*, March 22, 1916.
- Sketch of the life of J. A. J. Bentley, in the *Chariton Herald-Patriot*, March 23, 1916.
- Sketches of the lives of Mr. and Mrs. George Cox, in the *Deep River Record*, March 24, 1916.
- Sketches of the life of Joseph Schulze, in the *Iowa City Citizen*, March 24, 1916.
- Jasper Blines's Life Work, in the *Burlington Post*, March 25, 1916.
- Amos Fox — First Member of Iowa Soldier's Home, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican*, March 27, 1916.

Reminiscences of the Winter and Spring of 1867, by A. D. Guernsey,
in the *Independence Conservative*.

Sketch of the life of Jesse J. Peck, in the *Onawa Democrat*, March
30, 1916.

Early Tama History, in the *Tama Herald*, March 30, 1916.

Taking Teachers' Examinations in the Early Days, in the *Clarinda
Herald*, March 30, 1916.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

PUBLICATIONS

In the December number of *The Wisconsin Archeologist* there is an illustrated account of the *Indian Remains in Manitowoc County*, by Louis Falge.

The October-December number of *The Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* is devoted to the annual report of the Society for the year ending December 6, 1915.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has published a bulletin of information describing and indicating the importance of the *Strong and Woodman Manuscript Collections in the Wisconsin State Historical Library*.

An address by C. J. Hexamer delivered at the unveiling of the General von Steuben Monument at Valley Forge in October, 1915; and a short article on *General Von Steuben and the New Lesson of German Militarism*, by M. D. Learned, may be found in the January-April number of the *German American Annals*.

An excellent article on *Lincoln and Missouri*, by Walter B. Stevens, is to be found in the January number of *The Missouri Historical Review*.

The *Annual Volume of the Onondaga Historical Association* for the year 1915 is taken up with a number of papers relative to *Onondaga's Part in the Civil War*, by Mrs. Sarah Sumner Teall.

The chief item, in addition to genealogical material, in *The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* for January is a brief sketch of the career of the late *Charles Francis Adams*, by Worthington C. Ford.

The *Journal of Rev. Joshua Wingate Weeks, Loyalist Rector of St. Michael's Church, Marblehead, 1778-1779*, and the *Journal of a*

Journey from Salem to Philadelphia in 1755 are among the contents of the January number of the *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute*.

The March number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* contains, among other things, the concluding installment of the *Epistle or Diary of the Reverend Father Marie Joseph Durand*, translated from the French by Ella M. E. Flick.

Two articles in *The Medford Historical Register* for January are an account of *Lafayette's Visit to Medford*, by Eliza M. Gill; and an appreciation of *Reverend Henry C. De Long*, by George M. Butler.

Continuations of *Letters to General Greene and Others*, annotated by Joseph W. Barnwell; and the *Order Book of John Faucheraud Grimké* are printed in the October number of *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*.

The Michigan Historical Commission has published in pamphlet form the addresses delivered at the unveiling of a tablet commemorating the discovery and exploration of the Old Northwest by Jean Nicolet. The tablet was unveiled on Mackinac Island on July 12, 1915.

In the January number of the *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* may be found a five-page article by Joseph F. Folsom entitled *A Slave Indenture of Colonial Days in New Jersey*; and the concluding section of John L. Rankin's study of *Newark Town Government from 1666-1833*.

Nearly two hundred pages in volume fourteen of the *Proceedings and Collections of the Wyoming Historical and Genealogical Society* of Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania, are devoted to the *Reminiscences of Hon. Charles Miner, 1780-1865*, by Charles Francis Richardson. Shorter contributions are: *Buried River Channels of the Northeastern States*, by James F. Kemp; *The Development of Interest in Historical Societies*, by Thomas Lynch Montgomery; and *The "Alfred F. Berlin" Collection of Indian Artifacts*, by Christopher Wren.

La Sépulture d'Etienne Brulé, by Jules Tremblay; *Les Conseillers au Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle-France*, by Pierre-Georges Roy; *Elba, a Hundred Years After*, by George M. Wrong; and *Some Notes on the First Legislative Assembly of Ontario and its Speaker*, by W. S. Herrington, are among the contributions in the September number of the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*.

The opening pages of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* for December are occupied by the *Journal of the Committee of Observation of the Middle District of Frederick County, Maryland*, from September 12, 1775, to October 24, 1776. Then follow continuations of *Extracts from the Carroll Papers* and of *Uria Brown's Journal*. Bernard C. Steiner is the author of an article on the *Disturbances Concerning the Delaware Boundary*.

James Wickes Taylor: A Biographical Sketch, by Theodore C. Blegen, occupies the *Minnesota History Bulletin* for December, aside from the usual space devoted to book reviews, notes, and comment. In the March number may be found an abstract of an address on *The Social Memory*, by George E. Vincent; a brief tribute to *Lloyd Barber*, by Charles C. Willson; and an interesting paper on the *Genesis of the Typewriter*, by William G. Le Due.

The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society for January opens with a brief tribute to *Colonel J. Stoddard Johnston, a Great Kentuckian, Who Was Distinguished as a Soldier, Scholar, Politician and Journalist*, by George Baber. *Some Boone Records* are compiled by J. D. Bryan and James Boone. *Burr and Blennerhassett at Chaumiere* is the title of a short article by Mrs. Alysonia Rennick Todd.

H. M. Wagstaff is the editor of *The Harris Letters* which occupy volume fourteen, number one, of *The James Sprunt Historical Publications* of the North Carolina Historical Society. Numbers one and two of volume fifteen are combined, being devoted to a monograph of over two hundred pages by J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton on *Party Politics in North Carolina, 1835-1860*, which unfortunately is without citations to sources other than a brief bibliography at the close.

The principle article in the *Indiana Magazine of History* for March is one by George R. Wilson on *The First Public Land Surveys in Indiana: Freeman's Lines*. The concluding installment of the study of *The Election of 1852*, by Dale Beeler; a sketch of the life of *Samuel Merrill, Indiana's Second State Treasurer*, from the papers of Catharine Merrill; and an article on the *Settlement of Worthington and Old Point Commerce*, by Robert Weems, are other contributions.

Wilbur H. Siebert is the author of an article on *The Loyalists in West Florida and the Natchez District* which is given first place in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for March. Henry N. Sherwood writes on *Early Negro Deportation Projects*; there is a discussion of the *Pioneer Anti-slavery Press*, by Asa E. Martin; and Walter L. Fleming furnishes a valuable survey of *Recent Historical Activities in the Trans-Mississippi Southwest*. Three short documents concerning the consular service of the United States in Latin America are supplied with introduction and notes by William Spence Robertson.

The *Proceedings of the Sixteenth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina*, compiled by R. D. W. Connor, have been published by the North Carolina Historical Commission. Among the addresses and papers contained in the volume are: *A Western View of Tradition*, by Franklin K. Lane; *Can Democracy be Organized?*, by Edwin A. Alderman; *Social and Economic Legislation in North Carolina During the Civil War*, by E. W. Sikes; *Union Sentiment in North Carolina During the Civil War*, by Mary Shannon Smith; and *The Southern Policy of Andrew Johnson*, by J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton.

Hampton L. Carson is the writer of a short biography of *Hon. James Tyndale Mitchell, LL. D.*, late Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania and for nineteen years senior vice president of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, which appears in the January number of *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*. Following this there is *William Penn's Journal of his Second Visit to Ireland*, occupying about forty pages. *The State*

House Yard, and Who Owned it after William Penn, by Charles H. Browning; and *Selections from the Military Papers of Brig. Gen. William Irwine* are also of interest.

The July, 1915, number of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* opens with a thirty-page article on the *Life and Labors of Hon. Adlai Ewing Stevenson*, by John W. Cook. The story of *The Lincoln Life-Mask and How it was Made*, by Leonard W. Volk, is reprinted from *The Century Magazine* for 1881, and there are some comments and corrections by Henry B. Rankin. The same writer contributes an article entitled *The First American—Abraham Lincoln*. Other articles are: *The North-West Territory*, by Charles A. Kent; *The Mormon War in Hancock County*, by Herbert Spencer Salisbury; and *David B. Sears, Pioneer in the Development of the Water Power of the Mississippi River*, by David Sears. The last article has a special interest to students of Iowa history, since the activities of David B. Sears were partly carried on in the Iowa country.

A phase of Civil War history which has received too little attention, namely, the governmental and economic problems of the period especially from the southern viewpoint, is touched upon in an article on *Jefferson Davis and the Confederate Congress*, by Robert G. Cleland, which appears in the January number of *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*. Along the same line is the second installment of L. R. Garrison's study of the *Administrative Problems of the Confederate Post Office Department*. Thomas Maitland Marshall is the writer of a paper on *St. Vrain's Expedition to the Gila in 1826*; Charles E. Chapman discusses the *Difficulties of Maintaining the Department of San Blas, 1775-1777*; William W. Groce presents a sketch of the life of *Major General John A. Wharton*; Eugene C. Barker contributes a letter furnishing *A Glimpse of the Texas Fur Trade in 1832*; and there is another section of *British Correspondence Concerning Texas*, edited by Ephraim Douglass Adams.

The January number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* is given over to papers relating to various phases of the educational history of the Ohio Valley. The following eight papers

make up the contents: *The Higher Education of Women in the Ohio Valley Previous to 1840*, by Jane Sherzer; *European Influence on Early Western Education*, by Willis L. Gard; *Pioneer Schools and School Masters*, by D. C. Shilling; *The Rise of the Denominational College*, by Russell M. Storey; *Land Grants for Education in the Ohio Valley States*, by Clement L. Martzoff; *Samuel Lewis, Progressive Educator in the Early History of Ohio*, by Alston Ellis; *Colonel Dick Johnson's Choctaw Academy: A Forgotten Educational Experiment*, by Shelley D. Rouse; and *Secondary Education in Ohio Previous to the Year 1840*, by W. W. Boyd.

The Last Step in the Formation of a Provisional Government for Oregon in 1845 is the subject discussed by Robert Carlton Clark in *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* for December. *John Minto—A Tribute by One Who Loved Him* is written by John Gill. General interest attaches to a brief discussion of *Indian Words in Our Language*, by J. Neilson Barry. *Early Farming in Umatilla County*, by C. A. Barrett; *Captain Joseph R. Walker*, by James O'Meara; and the *Speech of Mr. Eli Thayer on the Admission of Oregon as a State*, are other contributions. The installment of the *Correspondence of the Rev. Ezra Fisher* here printed is especially rich in material concerning the early activities of the Baptist Church in Iowa, with frequent glimpses of general conditions in the Territory in 1844 and 1845. It also contains an account of the preparations for and the main part of the journey of Rev. Fisher from Rock Island to Oregon in the year 1845.

Asa Earl Martin is the writer of an article on *The Anti-Slavery Societies of Tennessee* which is given first place in the December number of the *Tennessee Historical Magazine*. Albert V. Goodpasture presents a brief sketch of the life of *Dr. James White, Pioneer, Politician, Lawyer*; and there is a discussion of *The Development of the Tennessee Constitution*, by Wallace McClure. Under the heading of "Documents" may be found *The Reminiscences of Elleanor (Callaghan) Ratterman*, telling of William Walker's invasion of Nicaragua, and some *Walker-Heisa Papers*, containing additional material concerning the famous filibuster's career in Nicaragua, all of which are edited by William O. Scroggs. Articles

which appear in the March number are *The Public School System of Tennessee, 1834-1860*, by A. P. Whitaker; and *The Topographical Beginnings of Nashville*, by Park Marshall; while St. George L. Sioussat provides introduction and notes for the *Diaries of S. H. Laughlin, of Tennessee, 1840, 1843*.

The American Historical Review for January opens with the presidential address by H. Morse Stephens on *Nationality and History*, read before the American Historical Association at its annual meeting in Washington, D. C., in December, 1915. The first installment of a monograph on *The True Roger Bacon* is written by Lynn Thorndyke. *The Colonial Post-office* is the subject of an interesting article by William Smith. Two other papers are: *American Cotton Trade with Liverpool Under the Embargo and Non-intercourse Acts*, by G. W. Daniels; and *The Governor-General of the Philippines Under Spain and the United States*, by David P. Barrows. Among the "Notes and Suggestions" is a note by C. O. Paullin on the electoral vote for John Quincy Adams in 1820. Under the heading of "Documents" are some letters relative to *The Origin of the Regulation in North Carolina*, with introduction and notes by Archibald Henderson. There is also a list of the doctoral dissertations in history in progress at the chief American universities in December, 1915.

A Critical Discussion of the Site of Camp Washington, by M. Orion Monroe, which appears in the January number of *The Washington Historical Quarterly*, would seem to indicate that a tablet supposed to mark the site where Isaac I. Stevens and George B. McClellan and their surveying parties camped late in October, 1853, which was erected several years ago was placed on the wrong spot. *Marine Disasters of the Alaska Route* are discussed by C. L. Andrews, and there are valuable lists of the ships lost or damaged since 1848. John Edwin Ayer is the writer of a short sketch of the life of *George Bush, the Voyageur*, who was born in about 1791 in what is now Missouri and was for a time engaged in the fur trade on the Upper Missouri. Victor J. Farrar furnishes the annual survey of the activities of the *Pioneer and Historical Societies of the State of Washington*. In a list of *The Pioneer Dead of 1915*, compiled by

Edith G. Prosch, are the names of several persons who emigrated from Iowa to the Pacific Coast before 1860. There is a continuation of the *Journal of Occurrences at Nisqually House, 1833*, edited by Clarence B. Bagley.

A short biography of *Josephus Nelson Larned*, by John B. Olmsted, in volume nineteen of the *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society*, is followed by some selected papers and addresses by Mr. Larned on various subjects in the fields of history, education, political science, and sociology, together with a chronological list of his writings. A tribute to *Henry A. Richmond* is written by Henry R. Howland. Then come three reminiscent articles concerning early newspapers in Buffalo, and a bibliography, which is surprisingly long, of *The Periodical Press of Buffalo, 1811-1915*, compiled by Frank H. Severance. There are also portraits of a number of pioneer printers and representative editors and publishers of early Buffalo. Finally, the volume contains some interesting editorial notes by Frank H. Severance, and the proceedings of the annual meeting of the Buffalo Historical Society in January, 1915.

Volume forty-eight of the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society contains, among others, the following papers and documentary contributions: *Again "The Tissue of History"*, by Charles Francis Adams; some hitherto unpublished instructions and despatches of the British Ghent Commission, contributed by Worthington C. Ford; *The British Proclamation of May, 1861*, by Charles Francis Adams; *Development of the Popular Churches After the Revolution*, by John Spencer Bassett; *General Garfield at Chickamauga*, by Theodore C. Smith; *Fiction as Historical Material*, by Gamaliel Bradford; some documents relative to *The Massachusetts Embassy to Washington, 1815*, by Samuel E. Morison; a number of tributes to the late Charles Francis Adams; *Extracts from the Diary of Benjamin Moran, 1860-1868*, by Worthington C. Ford; and *An Episode of the War of 1812*, by Thomas F. Waters.

ACTIVITIES

Mr. Hiram Heaton of Glendale, Secretary of the Jefferson County Historical Society, is the subject of a sketch in *The Fairfield Tribune* for March 24, 1916.

The ninth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association will be held at Nashville, Tennessee, on April 27-29, 1916.

At the annual meeting of the Presbyterian Historical Society held on January 13, 1916, Dr. Henry Van Dyke was reëlected president for the ensuing year.

The Indiana Historical Commission has plans well under way for the celebration later this year of the one hundredth anniversary of the admission of Indiana into the Union.

During October there was effected a consolidation of the Tennessee Historical Society and the Tennessee Woman's Historical Society.

At the seventeenth annual meeting of the Oregon Historical Society held at Portland on December 18, 1915, the principal address was one by O. B. Sperlin, on *The Indians of the Northwest as Revealed in the Journals of the Earliest Fur Traders and Explorers*.

The Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington announces that Miss Elizabeth Donnan has begun the compilation of a volume of original materials relating to the early history of the slave trade.

The thirteenth annual meeting of the State Historical Society of Missouri was held in the rooms of the Society in the new University library building at Columbia on December 10, 1915. The membership of the Society now numbers over one thousand and the total number of titles in the library is approximately 44,000. A committee has been appointed to begin the making of plans for the proper celebration of the centennial of the admission of Missouri into the Union.

The Webster County Historical Society, of which Mr. H. M. Pratt is Curator, is making a special effort to collect papers, letters, manuscripts, photographs, and other material bearing upon the history of Webster County and of Iowa in general. A large display cabinet has been placed in the city library at Fort Dodge for the

purpose of preserving relics of various kinds where they may be seen by visitors. Among the possessions of the Society is a fine collection of Indian relics donated by Mrs. George W. Marsh.

In the *Bedford Times-Republican* for January 20, 1916, there was an editorial strongly urging the formation of an historical society in Taylor County, and the collection and preservation of the records and other materials relating to the history of the county.

The principal topic of discussion at the meeting of the Jefferson County Historical Society on March 1st was the plan, thus far unsuccessful, to secure funds for the erection of a monument on the site in Fairfield where the first State Fair was held in Iowa. Some attention was also given to the proposed union of the various associations of an historical character in Jefferson County. The election of officers resulted in the choice of those who served during the past year. Before the meeting closed Professor P. C. Hildreth of Parsons College, a member of The State Historical Society of Iowa, delivered an address.

The Historical Department of Iowa at Des Moines has received substantial additions to the collection of materials donated several years ago by the late Grenville M. Dodge. Included in this collection are a large number of war relics. Another recent accession is the collection of Civil War papers and relics belonging to Captain V. P. Twombly. Miss Ida M. Huntington, Assistant Curator of the Department, and Miss Lavinia Steele of the State Library, have compiled a list of Iowans who have become known for their accomplishments in the field of art. This list was published in *The Register and Leader* of March 12, 1916.

The Minnesota Historical Society held its annual meeting on the evening of January 10, 1916, at which time President George E. Vincent of the University of Minnesota delivered an address on *The Social Memory*. Resolutions were adopted urging the members of the Minnesota delegation in Congress to support the movement for a national archives building at Washington, D. C. The membership list of the Society at that time contained four hundred and thirty-five names. The total number of accessions in the library reached

nearly seventy-nine thousand, an increase of about two and a quarter thousands during 1915, and it is estimated that there is sufficient unaccessioned material, mostly pamphlets, in the library to bring the number up to one hundred and twenty thousand. Mr. Warren Upham, now archaeologist for the Society, is compiling a work on *Minnesota Geographic Names*.

At the meeting of the Allamakee County Historical and Archaeological Society on January 11, 1916, there was some discussion of the question of preserving the government survey post on the State line at New Albin. An article by A. M. May on *Allamakee County a Vast Beauty Spot* was approved for publication. Mr. Ellison Orr read a paper on *The New Albin Inscribed Tablet*. On March 15th the Society held its first annual meeting, at which time the persons chosen as officers on the occasion of the organization of the Society on November 30, 1915, were reëlected to serve for the ensuing year. Progress was reported in the matter of the boundary line post at New Albin and the prospect is that the sum of one hundred dollars appropriated by the General Assembly for the purpose of its preservation will soon be applied to the use for which it was intended.

PAGE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

In the January number of THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS attention was called to the fact that a movement was on foot to organize a county historical society in Page County. That movement has been successful. The Page County Historical Society has been organized, with twenty-five charter members, and a constitution and by-laws have been adopted. In the words of the constitution, the society is organized "for the purpose of collecting and preserving books, papers and records, writings and relics, legal, military and other materials, relating to the history of Page County, Iowa, but may include such material as is illustrative of the history of the State and nation; and the publication of such historical and biographical matter as the society may authorize." The membership fee is fifty cents and the annual dues are fifty cents. The headquarters of the Society will be at Clarinda.

A Board of Directors, of which Mr. A. F. Galloway is chairman,

has been selected to manage the affairs of the Society until the first election of officers which will occur on May 8th. A special program is being planned for that time and a campaign for members has been launched.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

Owing to the death of her father, Miss Eliza L. Johnson, who since 1905 has had charge of the library of the Society, has upon her own request been relieved of her work; and Miss Ruth A. Gallaher has been placed in charge of the library.

The Society is in receipt of a handsome medallion commemorative of the three hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Dutch settlement on Manhattan Island in 1613, and of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Board of Aldermen in 1665. The medallion was presented by the Holland Society of New York.

Volumes three and four of Dr. Clarence Ray Aurner's *History of Education in Iowa* have been distributed to members. Volume three is devoted to secondary education, including academies, private normal schools, business colleges, and especially the history of the public high school in Iowa. Volume four contains general historical accounts of the State University of Iowa, the Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, and the State Teachers' College.

By action of the Board of Curators, Library Membership in The State Historical Society of Iowa was abolished from and after January 1, 1916, and in lieu thereof certain public and college libraries within the State together with a limited list of libraries and institutions outside the State were designated as official depositories for the publications of the Society. The list of depositories within the State includes 153 public and college libraries, while the depositories outside the State number about sixty. These official depositories will receive all of the publications of the Society as issued without the payment of any fee or dues whatsoever. In this way The State Historical Society of Iowa will continue to make its publi-

cations accessible to the greatest possible number of persons interested in the history of Iowa.

Captain A. L. Conger of the Military Service Schools at Fort Leavenworth was the speaker at a conference-seminar held in the rooms of the Society on February 14th, his subject being "The Importance of the Study of Military History". One week later Professor William E. Dodd of the University of Chicago addressed a seminar on "The Southern Background of the Declaration of Independence". Both of these seminars were arranged by Dr. Louis Pelzer, Assistant Professor of American History in the State University of Iowa.

The State Historical Society of Iowa is coöperating with the historical agencies in the States of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, and the Historical Department of Iowa at Des Moines, in an enterprise which promises to be productive of much benefit to students of the history of this region. Under the joint patronage of these societies and departments, Dr. N. D. Mereness is preparing a calendar of the many papers in the archives of the Department of State at Washington which relate to the early history of these six States. A copy of this calendar will be secured by each one of the coöperating agencies and arrangements have been made whereby photostatic copies of any of the material listed in this calendar may be secured for the collections of the societies participating in the plan. In this way much valuable material hitherto virtually inaccessible to the research student will be made available at a comparatively small expense of labor and money.

The following persons have recently been elected to membership in the Society: Mr. A. W. Brown, Davenport, Iowa; Dr. W. W. Carson, Sioux City, Iowa; Mr. J. C. Collier, Dubuque, Iowa; Miss Edith Eicher, Jefferson, Iowa; Miss Nellie E. Gardner, New Hampton, Iowa; Mrs. Ruth Irish Preston, Davenport, Iowa; Mr. C. H. Northup, Ollie, Iowa; Mr. Geo. E. Allen, Onawa, Iowa; Mr. Lewis H. Andrews, Clearfield, Iowa; Mr. Martin Ausland, Emmetsburg, Iowa; Mr. G. G. Benjamin, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. R. H. Croft, Winterset, Iowa; Mr. Chas. E. Davis, Tama, Iowa; Mr. C. E. Dean,

Glenwood, Iowa; Mr. J. S. Dewell, Missouri Valley, Iowa; Mr. L. F. Heiden, Garrison, Iowa; Miss Daisy Hixson, Winfield, Iowa; Mr. F. C. Huber, Larrabee, Iowa; Mr. J. Sidney Johnson, Marshalltown, Iowa; Miss Joanna Kyle, Washington, Iowa; Mr. J. Dee London, College Springs, Iowa; Mr. Wm. T. Rigby, Vicksburg, Mississippi; Mr. L. M. Swindler, Yale, Iowa; Mr. Edwin H. Talbott, Brooklyn, Iowa; Mr. O. L. von Krog, Emmetsburg, Iowa; and Mr. Frank L. Wilson, Mechanicsville, Iowa.

NOTES AND COMMENT

A monument to Daniel and Rebecca Boone was unveiled and dedicated at Marthasville, Missouri, on October 29, 1915.

The Burton Historical Library at Detroit has recently acquired about four thousand photostatic copies of papers in the archives of various offices at Washington relating to the early history of Michigan.

The annual meeting of the Swedish-American Society of Iowa was held at Des Moines on March 9th. The immediate object of this organization is the securing of funds with which to erect a monument to John Ericsson, the inventor, on the capitol grounds at Des Moines.

At a meeting of the Pioneer Club of Des Moines early in January a resolution was adopted asking the Executive Council to erect on the capitol grounds a suitable monument to the memory of the late General Grenville M. Dodge. The election of officers resulted in the choice of George B. Hippee as president, William Lowry as vice president, and Craig T. Wright as secretary-treasurer.

On January 11, 1916, at Toledo, Iowa, occurred the death of Centenary B. Bradshaw, who from 1907 to 1914 was judge of the Seventeenth Judicial District, composed of Marshall, Tama, and Benton counties. He was born in Ohio, but moved to Iowa during his youth and received his education at Cornell College, being in attendance at that institution at the outbreak of the Civil War, in which he served for more than three years.

The program for the third annual municipal day held at the State University of Iowa on March 28th under the auspices of the Extension Department included addresses and discussions by Professor Charles E. Merriam of the University of Chicago; Mr. J. M. Switzer of Dayton, Ohio; Professor A. R. Hatton of Western Re-

serve University; Mr. O. K. Patton of the State University of Iowa; Mr. H. B. Vollmer of Webster City; and Mr. E. L. Marriage of Iowa Falls.

OLIVER PERRY SHIRAS

Oliver Perry Shiras, who died in Florida on January 7, 1916, was often referred to as the most distinguished citizen of Dubuque, Iowa, in which city he resided for nearly sixty years.

Judge Shiras was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on October 22, 1833. After attending the public schools of Pittsburgh he continued his studies at the original Ohio University, and in the law school of Yale University. Turning to the West in 1856 for a promising location in which to enter upon the practice of the law, he investigated the prospects in Indianapolis, Chicago, and St. Paul, with the result that he practically decided to locate in Chicago. But by mere chance he visited friends at Dubuque on his return journey from St. Paul to Chicago, and finding conditions there attractive he decided to make Dubuque his home. He was a member of the staff of General F. J. Herron during the Civil War. It was in 1882 that he was appointed United States Judge for the Northern District of Iowa, and he continued to serve, with distinguished ability, in that capacity until 1903, when he retired.

HENRY WALLACE

On February 22, 1916, at Des Moines, occurred the death of Henry Wallace, one of Iowa's best loved and most widely known citizens.

Henry Wallace was born near West Newton, Pennsylvania, in 1836. His collegiate education was received at Geneva Hall and Jefferson College, and after his graduation from the latter institution he taught school for a time in Kentucky. Later, however, he attended two different theological seminaries and in 1862 entered the ministry of the United Presbyterian Church. One year afterward he came to Iowa and was pastor of various churches in this State until 1878, when he was forced to abandon the ministry on account of ill health.

He now took up his abode at Winterset and at the same time pur-

chased a farm in Adair County, in the management of which his health was restored. During this period he became interested in journalism and acquired a part interest in a newspaper at Winterset. From 1883 to 1895 he was connected with the *Iowa Homestead* at Des Moines. Retiring from that paper, in partnership with his sons he established *Wallace's Farmer* in 1897. Throughout the long period of his editorial labors he was always alert to promote the interests and protect the rights of the farmers of Iowa, who owe much to his efforts. His election to the National Conservation Congress, and his appointment by President Roosevelt as a member of the Country Life Commission were honors which indicated the high esteem in which he was held throughout the country.

WILLIAM PETERS HEPBURN

William Peters Hepburn was born at Wellsville, Ohio, on November 4, 1833. When he was eight years of age the family moved to the Territory of Iowa and settled on a frontier claim not far from Iowa City, then the capital of the Territory. He was for a time a student in the institution known as Mechanics' Academy. Later he became a printer's apprentice in the office of the *Iowa City Republican*. After three years he took up the study of law in the office of William Penn Clarke and was admitted to the bar in 1854. He was married to Miss Malvinia A. Morseman in 1855 and in the following year moved to Marshalltown, where he soon became prosecuting attorney of Marshall County.

Mr. Hepburn served as clerk of the House of Representatives during the last session of the General Assembly held at Iowa City and the first session held at Des Moines. He was elected district attorney of the Eleventh Judicial District in 1858 and held that position until he resigned at the outbreak of the Civil War to enter the army. In the meantime he was a delegate from Iowa to the Republican National Convention in 1860. Beginning as captain of Company B, Second Iowa Infantry, he was successively promoted to the rank of major and lieutenant colonel.

After the close of the war Mr. Hepburn moved to Clarinda, Iowa, which remained his home until the time of his death. Here he took

an active interest in politics, and in 1880 was elected Congressman from the eighth district. With the exception of three terms, from 1887 to 1893, he served continuously in this position until 1909, when he was defeated for election to the Sixty-first Congress by William D. Jamieson. During this time he established for himself a firm place in the respect of his colleagues and in the confidence of his constituents. He was especially noted for his abilities as an orator and debater. He died at Clarinda on February 7, 1916.

CONTRIBUTORS

THOMAS TEAKLE, Chairman of the History Department, North High School, Des Moines, Iowa. Member of The State Historical Society of Iowa. Author of *The Rendition of Barclay Coppoc* and *The Defalcation of Superintendent James D. Eads*. (See THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS for October, 1912, p. 593.)

RUTH AUGUSTA GALLAHER, Research Librarian in the Library of The State Historical Society of Iowa. (See THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS for January, 1916, p. 156.)

HIRAM FOSTER WHITE, Miles, Washington. Born in New York State in 1849. Graduate of Williams College. Taught school in Wisconsin and was engaged in newspaper work in Milwaukee during the early seventies. Pastor of Presbyterian churches in Wisconsin, Minnesota, Nebraska, and Washington. Allotting Agent on the Klamath Indian Reservation, 1907-1910.

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THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS
JULY NINETEEN HUNDRED SIXTEEN
VOLUME FOURTEEN NUMBER THREE

EPISODES IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE DES MOINES VALLEY

[The early history of the Des Moines Valley will be continued in another article by Mr. Van der Zee, dealing with the opening of the valley to settlement by the whites.—EDITOR]

There is no portion of Iowa which offers so rich a field for historical investigation as does the valley of the River Des Moines. A sketch of the events which took place in this region before the coming of permanent settlers excellently epitomizes the story of what happened in the dim period of two centuries preceding the rush of immigration to the fertile lands of the Upper Mississippi Valley. Likewise, the early history of the Des Moines Valley presents a unique cross-sectional view of the history of Iowa before and during its first occupation by the pioneers.

THE VALLEY AND ITS NAME

Relying upon the only known sources of information, the earliest accounts of exploration in the Upper Mississippi region, one is obliged to conclude that no white man laid eyes upon the Iowa wilderness until the memorable year 1673. That the French travelers and traders, Radisson and Groseilliers, set foot upon Iowa soil in 1659 or 1660, as has been claimed, can never be satisfactorily proved by the narrative of their journeyings. Nevertheless, if one may believe the statement that Radisson visited a tribe of Indians called "Maingonis", to him must be ascribed the distinction of having recorded in its original form¹ the name which is now applied, in slightly altered form, as "Moingona", to a

¹ Scull's *Voyages of Peter Esprit Radisson*, p. 246; Dr. L. G. Weld's address entitled *On the Way to Iowa*, p. 20; THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XII, p. 328.

town, and as "Des Moines" to many townships, to a county, to a tributary of the Mississippi, to a United States fort, and to the State capital of Iowa.

On their epoch-making journey of discovery from Canada by way of the Great Lakes, the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, and down the Mississippi in 1673, Louis Joliet and Father Marquette disembarked upon the Iowa shore at a spot where they found the tracks of human feet. After following a trail for some miles westward, they came to a village of "Peouarea" Indians upon the bank of a river. Besides the account of his experiences Marquette left a rough map of the region visited, showing the river and the Peouarea village, and farther to the westward, away from the river, he indicated a second village by the name of "Moingouena". Judging from these facts and supported also by the latitudes recorded by Marquette, some historians have assumed that the explorers discovered the Des Moines River. This view, however, was exploded upon the scientific investigation of Marquette's map. The better opinion would seem to be that the stream was none other than the Iowa, but it is not intended to deny that the Moingouena Indians even at that time may have dwelt upon the river which to-day bears their name in its abbreviated French form.²

THE DISCOVERY OF THE DES MOINES RIVER

So far, then, as the records bear testimony, there is no evidence to prove that Joliet and Marquette discovered the largest river in the Iowa country, although, of course, they passed its mouth on the long journey southward. In the spring of 1680 three other Frenchmen — Michel Accault, Antoine Angel, and Father Hennepin — were despatched

² Weld's *Joliet and Marquette in Iowa* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. I, pp. 14, 15; see also Vol. XII, pp. 330-334. Mr. Johnson Brigham in his *History of Des Moines and Polk County*, Vol. I, p. 3, erroneously cites Dr. Weld as concurring with the older view that Joliet and Marquette landed near the mouth of the Des Moines River.

up the Mississippi by their master, La Salle, who was then laying plans to explore and exploit the Great Valley. Except for the bare mention of two large rivers flowing from the west, the "Otontenta" and the St. Peter's, which may have been the present Des Moines and Minnesota rivers, they left no record of having spent any time in the Iowa country.³

From this time onward French forest-rangers and *voyageurs* resorted more and more to the region west of the Great Lakes in quest of furs and pelts. Just when the French began to use the name "Des Moines" may never be ascertained. In 1688, however, the French cartographer, Franquelin, prepared a map of the Mississippi Valley and noted upon it the "Rivière des Moingona" and a village of Moingona Indians. These details of American geography he may have obtained from traders or explorers who in turn may have learned them by actual experience or by mere hearsay.⁴

In the same year took place the remarkable voyage afterwards reported in Europe by Baron Lahontan in his book of travels. This gentleman announced to the world his discovery and exploration of a wonderful river west of the Mississippi — *La Rivière Longue*. Later travelers revealed the falsity of the Baron's claims and branded him as an impostor, but modern historians have seriously attempted to identify the Baron's fabulous river, some even suggesting the Des Moines. Indeed, a curious map of the Upper Mississippi made in the year 1720 lends color to this view: it depicts the *Rivière Des Moingona* taking its start far to the westward at a point where it bears the words: "Jusqu'icy est venu le Baron de Lahontan" (To this place came

³ THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XII, pp. 335, 336, 337.

⁴ THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XII, p. 337.

Baron de Lahontan).⁵ This chart may have been based upon Lahontan's pretended discovery.

Dr. Daniel Coxe, an Englishman who had bought up all rights in the patent of Carolina, some time before the year 1700 sent two armed ships to explore the regions to which he laid claim and in 1722 compiled from the alleged journals and memoirs of the officers of one ship a description of the Great Valley. He told of "a fair river, which our people were at the mouth of, but could not learn its name. I suppose it's the same the French call Moingona. Some make it to proceed from the Mitchayowa or long river, as may be discerned in the annexed map; but as all our journals are silent in that matter, so shall I, till some more perfect discoveries thereof afford us further light and certainty therein." Coxe's book has suffered the fate of Lahontan's: it has come to be looked upon as a mere invention contrived to bolster up his claims "against the French by asserting priority for English explorations."⁶

In the summer of 1700, while Pierre Charles Le Sueur and a score of companions were ascending the Mississippi in a felucca and two canoes, Pénicaut, journalist of the expedition, recorded passing the mouth of a river called "the Rivière de Moingona, the name of a nation of Savages who dwelt upon its banks".⁷ Profiting by the information gained from Le Sueur and earlier explorers, the most famous French cartographer of that day, William de L'Isle, in 1703 compiled a map of Louisiana and the Mississippi,

⁵ A copy of this map may be found in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. III, p. 558. See Thwaites's *Lahontan's Voyages to North America*, Vol. I, pp. xxiii, xxxviii, 167, 178, 179; Shea's *Charlevoix's History and General Description of New France*, Vol. I, p. 87.

⁶ Winsor's *The Mississippi Basin*, p. 46. For Coxe's account see Alvord and Bidgood's *First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region*, pp. 232, 233; French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, Series I, Vol. II, pp. 230, 232.

⁷ Margry's *Découvertes et Etablissements des Français, dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amerique Septentrionale*, Vol. V, p. 411.

including among its tributaries the "des Moines ou le Moingona" River.⁸

The only Frenchman of those times who really left more than a fragmentary record of his knowledge of the Louisiana country after a visit was Father Peter Francis Xavier de Charlevoix. From hearsay this Jesuit priest described the valley of the Des Moines in 1721 as follows:

On the left side about fifty leagues above the river of Buffaloes, the river *Moingona* issues from the midst of an immense meadow, which swarms with Buffaloes and other wild beasts: at its entrance into the Mississippi, it is very shallow as well as narrow; nevertheless, its course from north to west, is said to be two hundred and fifty leagues in length. It rises from a lake and is said to form a second, at the distance of fifty leagues from the first.

Turning to the left from this second lake we enter into Blue River, so called from its bottom, which is an earth of that color. It discharges itself into the river of St. Peter [now the Minnesota]. Going up the Moingona, we find great plenty of pit coal, and a hundred and fifty leagues from its mouth there is a very large cape, which causes a turn in the river, in which place its waters are red and stinking. It is affirmed, that great quantities of mineral stones and some antimony have been found upon this cape.

A league above the mouth of the Moingona there are two *rapids* or strong currents of a considerable length in the Mississippi, where passengers are obliged to unload and carry their pirogues: and above the second *rapide*, that is about twenty leagues from the Moingona, there are lead mines on both sides of the river, which were discovered some time ago, by a famous traveller of "Canada called Nicholas Perrot, whose name they still bear".⁹

WAR IN THE IOWA WILDERNESS IN 1735

Having found their way to the Upper Mississippi Valley during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, French-

⁸ A copy of this map may be found in French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, Series I, Vol. II, frontispiece.

⁹ Charlevoix's *Journal of a Voyage to North-America* (Printed for R. and J. Dodsley, London, 1761), Vol. II, pp. 225, 226.

men from New France (Canada) and Louisiana began to interest themselves in the religious and economic life of the native inhabitants. In general, the relations between Europeans and Indians were so peaceful that French missionaries and traders achieved considerable success. But an event soon occurred which was the beginning of nearly thirty years of war in the Wisconsin-Illinois-Iowa country.

The main-travelled highway to this region from eastern Canada was an almost continuous waterway consisting of the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes, Green Bay, the Fox River, one mile and a half of portage by land, and the Wisconsin River. Along the banks of the Fox River dwelt the Fox Indians who had never taken a fancy to the white invaders. After years of non-resistance they burst into open hostility in 1712: not only did they make attacks upon French traders and black-robed priests, but they also raised their tomahawks against all the tribes which had alliances or dealings with the French. Stirred on and aided by the savage Iroquois Indians of the East who were said to be under English influence in the interests of the fur trade, the Foxes practically ruined the Frenchmen's business in furs and carried death and destruction to neighboring tribes to the southward.¹⁰ Indeed, at this time there recommenced the intertribal wars which almost completely wiped out the Illinois family of tribes, among them the Peorias and Moingwenas who had long roamed the Iowa-Illinois country.¹¹

¹⁰ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVI, pp. 289, 298, 327, 339, 340, 417; Vol. XVII, p. xii. For the beginning of the Iroquois invasions and the alleged English interest in the beavers of the West see *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. IX, pp. 162, 163.

¹¹ Bureau of American Ethnology's *Handbook of American Indians*, Part I, p. 598. Lewis and Clark in 1804 reported that to the Sacs and Foxes was "justly attributable the almost entire destruction of the Missouries, the Illinois, Cahokias, Kaskaskias, and Peorias."—*American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, pp. 711, 712, 714.

After fifteen years of intermittent and bloody warfare between the Foxes and neighboring tribes, the Governor-General of Canada, Sieur de Beauharnois, determined to destroy the Fox nation in order to effect a sure and enduring peace. To this plan the King of France gave assent. In 1729 the Fox region was laid waste. Finding that the Sioux and the "Ayowets" (Ioways) of the Minnesota-Iowa region would not give them shelter, the Foxes were obliged to return to the site of their old village and sue for peace. Then, harassed on all sides by their hostile neighbors and pursued by their enemies, they were at last brought to bay near "the Rock" on the Illinois River. A French-Indian force in 1730 succeeded in crushing and all but exterminating the rebellious natives: "not more than 50 or 60 men Escaped Without guns and Without any of the Implements for procuring their Subsistence". All the other warriors and many women and children were killed, while the survivors were captured and scattered as slaves among the Indian nations. The warriors who escaped fled across the Mississippi to seek an asylum among the Ioways who then seem to have occupied what is now eastern Iowa.¹²

Scarcely had the French reëstablished themselves in the Wisconsin and Minnesota country, however, when a small incident again blasted their hopes of future tranquillity. After their defeat the Fox fugitive warriors gradually collected their enslaved women and children together, and during this revival of their tribal life, they were again attacked by other nations with the approbation of French officers of the colony. The Governor-General then ordered Sieur de Villiers "to bring all the Renards to Montreal", believing "that to send them to France with the view of distributing them among the islands [such as the French West Indies] would Be the most advantageous for the

¹² *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVII, pp. 21, 62, 63, 65, 113, 117, 130.

Country because here [in Canada] they could always desert to the English." Furthermore, if de Villiers could not get "that Wretched Remnant" to obey, he had orders to wipe them out. This officer with a force of French and Indians repaired to the post at Green Bay in 1733 and called upon the Sac Indians to give up the Foxes who had taken refuge among them. When they temporised, de Villiers with a few others went to demand the refugees and in a rash attempt to enter their fort was shot down.¹³

Already filled with sympathy for the fast-dwindling tribe of Foxes and fearing their inability to atone for the death of so great an official, the Sacs cast in their lot with the hunted Foxes. The allied tribes at once withdrew from the Wisconsin country, crossed the Mississippi, and buried themselves in the Iowa wilderness in the hope of escaping punishment for an act which they had never plotted. In the month of October, 1734, they were reported as having wandered about for some time, asking "In vain for a refuge among the sioux and ayouis who refused it to them", and they finally established themselves in two forts upon the Wapsipinicon River.

Meanwhile the French were not inactive. Governor-General Beauharnois of Canada, fearing that the failure to send a French army in pursuit of the fugitives might produce a bad impression on all the Indian nations, determined "to detach a party of 84 French, consisting of seven officers and the remainder of Cadets, Sergeants, Soldiers and some settlers." All eagerly volunteered for the service, while over two hundred Iroquois, Pottawattamies, and Hurons also expressed the greatest willingness to take revenge upon their Sac and Fox enemies.

Nicolas Joseph de Noyelles was selected to command the

¹³ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVII, pp. 140, 148, 153, 155, 161, 167, 182, 183, 189, 202, 210. A Fox chief by the name of Kiala about this time was sent to Martinique for safe-keeping.

party, because he was "very Efficient and is greatly loved by the Savages. And he Adds to these qualities a Constitution capable of Enduring the fatigues of an Expedition which can be undertaken only in a very inclement season, for it will be necessary to proceed a very great distance on foot and on Snow-shoes." The captain set out from Montreal on August 14, 1734, with orders to go to Detroit and thence westward to grant peace to the Sacs "if they consent to give up the Renards; If not to destroy both nations And to let our Savages eat them up."¹⁴

On the way to the Iowa country Captain de Noyelles and his war party captured a few Sacs who reported that "the Renards were no longer at la Pomme de Cigne [Wapsipicon River] and that they had withdrawn to the Rivière sans fourche." The French accordingly crossed the Mississippi early in the year 1735 and under the worst conditions penetrated the wilderness in search of the allied tribes. With some surprise they came upon fifty-five Indian lodges "on the other side of a very wide and rapid River full of floating ice." They crossed the stream and commenced an engagement in which the French lost a few men and the allies had thirty killed, wounded, and taken prisoners — perhaps the first and only pitched battle ever fought in the Iowa country between whites and Indians.

Such was the indecisive battle of "the River Mongona 60 Leagues from the spot where that River falls into the Mississippi". De Noyelles informed the Sacs that their Father, the Governor-General, "would grant them their lives on condition that they would abandon the Renards" and return to their old haunts near Green Bay. After they promised to do so, the little French army departed southward, having at least convinced the savages "that the French are as

¹⁴ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVII, pp. 206, 208, 209, 210, 216.

capable as they of undertaking Marches and of seeking the enemy at the extremities of the Colony.”¹⁵

One year later the Fox tribe, still migratory, had a fighting force of one hundred men.¹⁶ They and the Sacs were begging for their lives and in 1737, through the intercession of other tribes, Beauharnois was prevailed upon to grant their request for mercy. Two years had passed, however, when a French officer named Pierre Paul, Sieur Marin, reported that “the Renards And Sakis have not dared to go and Establish themselves at la Baye [Green Bay], because some ill-disposed French had told them that I was Sending a large body of soldiers to Eat them up.” The Foxes, feeling that their French overlords were displeased, asserted that they were doing no wrong by staying in the country of the Ioways “as we have only come here to provide for our families who would meet with hardships elsewhere.” The Sacs, too, complained that they had not rekindled their fires in the Green Bay region because “there are no longer any Crops, fishing or hunting to be had there, because it is a soil that can no longer produce anything, Being Stained with French blood and with our own.” Furthermore, the allies had not returned to their old habitat on the Fox River because they had been frightened by “the Thunder which hangs above our heads ready to Crush us”—a French army of which they had received warning.¹⁷

¹⁵ For two different original accounts of this French expedition into the Iowa country see THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XII, pp. 247-261.

¹⁶ *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. IX, p. 1055.

¹⁷ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVII, pp. 263, 275, 315, 316, 319, 320, 324. In 1718 there was made the following report of the land of the Sacs and the Foxes in Wisconsin: “There is excellent hunting in these parts, and the people live well in consequence of the abundance of meat and fish, of the latter of which this Fox river is very full.”—*Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. IX, p. 889.

Having found safety among the Sioux Indians west of the Mississippi and planning to find a retreat among the Iroquois Indians, if necessary, the Foxes in 1741 caused the French to revive secretly their project of extermination. Marin, nevertheless, left nothing undone to persuade the allied tribes to remove from the Iowa and Illinois country, and owing to his exertions, many of them were again settled near Green Bay in July, 1742. Thus, "the plan of calming Minds by Conciliatory means" brought about the peace which the French needed to exploit the West.¹⁸

FUR TRADE BEGINNINGS IN THE DES MOINES VALLEY

The Fox wars having been ended, who were the native inhabitants of the eastern Iowa wilderness? The Moingwenas and the Peorias who had once used this region as hunting-grounds appear to have joined forces with other Illinois tribes as the only way to protect themselves against their common enemies, the Foxes and the Iroquois. Their numbers were terribly reduced and by the year 1736 the Moingwenas seem to have been completely wiped out as a distinct tribe.¹⁹ The Ioway Indians, never a numerous tribe, are occasionally met with in these early years, but they seem to have had no permanent village homes — they were of a nomadic turn of mind. The Sioux Indians probably frequented the prairies and forests south of their Minnesota habitat more than other native tribes. Certain it is that owing to the general turmoil during the first half of the eighteenth century French *coureurs de bois* and *voyageurs* were never really safe in their search for furs in the Upper Mississippi Valley.

¹⁸ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVII, pp. 338, 363, 398, 404, 436; Vol. XVIII, p. 4.

¹⁹ *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. IX, p. 1057. The Moingwenas received no mention in a report of 1757.—*Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, p. 177.

In the summer of 1749 three Frenchmen were murdered by the Sioux and in the autumn another with his slave was killed "on the Rivière des mouens by the petits osages." Such was the report of the French commandant of Fort Chartres opposite the mouth of the Missouri. The Little Osages of the Missouri country, scouring the Iowa wilderness for game or enemies, had come upon a man named Giguière while hunting on the upper Des Moines River. They afterwards atoned for their crime by sending the murderer's scalp to the French officer so that the French could say: "Nothing can be added to the submission of those petits Ossages; their rectitude surpasses everything that can be expected of a savage nation."²⁰

Difficulties began to thicken about the French who were trying to hold the western country in these years. As in Europe, so in America, they were preparing for a death grapple with England. All available troops were, therefore, collected for the struggle in Canada. The year 1760 witnessed the collapse of the French régime in the Upper Mississippi Valley. Then, in 1762, before the French and the English made the treaty of peace which closed the war, France secretly conveyed to Spain all the vast territory west of the Mississippi River. Henceforth the Iowa wilderness lay within the jurisdiction of Spanish officials at New Orleans.²¹

The territory east of the Mississippi having fallen into the hands of England, English subjects lost no time in hastening thither to reap the trade benefits of British domination.²² England's new French-Canadian subjects, however slightly they may have been engaged in the fur trade

²⁰ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 60, 86, 87. The French at this time also gave the Des Moines River the name "des Moens".

²¹ THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XII, pp. 353, 355.

²² THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XII, p. 356.

of the Mississippi Valley, no doubt continued their operations wherever they could strike a bargain. When Spanish officials took charge of the government of Upper Louisiana in 1768, their first concern seems to have been to keep all English subjects, whether from Canada or the thirteen Atlantic colonies, from trading with the native inhabitants of Spanish territory. Indeed, in 1767, Governor Ulloa issued instructions to a captain of infantry to construct two forts at the mouth of the Missouri to prevent the English from entering that river and other Mississippi tributaries.²³

Prairie du Chien at the mouth of the Wisconsin was a considerable market to which the Indian tribes already resorted to trade their furs for the merchandise brought in boats from New Orleans and Mackinac. In the summer months of 1769, among the Indians who went for trade and presents to the Spanish settlements near the mouth of the Missouri were the "Ayooua" (Iowa), the Sioux, the Sacs, and the Foxes. It was the beginning of keen rivalry between English subjects and Spanish subjects for the fur trade of the Upper Mississippi. Whether the latter visited the haunts of the Indian tribes in the western half of the valley is not known, but in the year 1777 a Spanish official complained about the loss of trade in the Iowa country. He reported that the "Hayuas" (Iowas), a tribe consisting of two hundred and fifty warriors under the chieftainship of "El Ladron" (The Robber), were located eighty leagues from St. Louis "on the shores of the Muen [Des Moines] river." Their occupation was hunting "but no benefit to trade results therefrom, for the reason that the fur-trade is carried on continually with the traders who are introducing themselves into that river from the English district."²⁴

²³ Houck's *The Spanish Régime in Missouri*, Vol. I, p. 24.

²⁴ THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XII, pp. 356, 357, 359; Houck's *The Spanish Régime in Missouri*, Vol. I, p. 145.

British traders from Canada and the East seem thus to have been energetic and active enough to beat their Spanish competitors upon Spanish soil. The Indians no doubt looked with favor upon the visits of these merchants at their villages and hunting-camps because it obviated the necessity of long journeys to market. The Sioux tribes, dwelling in Spanish territory north of the Ioways, likewise conferred no trade benefits upon the Spanish, for, in the language of the report of 1777, "the traders from the English district are gaining entrance by way of the Muen river through the district called Fuzch, one hundred and fifty leagues from the Misisipy, in order to trade with them." "Fuzch" was probably the region about the head waters of the Des Moines, then already frequented by the Yankton Sioux of the Dakota country.²⁵

Who were the British merchant adventurers in the Des Moines Valley at this early day? Their names unfortunately have not been discovered. They may have been simply employees of Canadian trading firms or English subjects bartering with the natives on their own account. Whoever they were, they came to be the special mark of Spanish resentment. In November, 1778, Don Fernando de Leyba, Governor of Upper Louisiana, informed his superior at New Orleans that Fort San Carlos situated above the mouth

²⁵ The Spanish reported that the Foxes then dwelt upon the Mississippi two hundred leagues north of St. Louis and that the Sacs dwelt thirty leagues farther north. The former had a village on the west side of the river near the Wapsipinicon River, the latter on the east side near the mouth of the Wisconsin. See Houck's *The Spanish Régime in Missouri*, Vol. I, p. 146; *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, p. 365.

Peter Pond, the illiterate but by no means ignorant Connecticut trader who wrote an account of his western experiences during the years 1773-1775, made the following statement of the Yankton Sioux: "Ye Yantonose are faroshas and Rude in thare Maners Perhaps Oeing in Sum masher to thare Leadig an Obsger [obscure] life in the Planes. Thay are not Convarsant with Evrey other tribe. Thay Seldom Sea thare Nighbers. Thay Leade a wandering Life in that Extensive Plane Betwene the Miseura & Missicippey."—*Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, p. 353.

of the Missouri had outlived its usefulness and that a new fort should be established "at the entrance of Mua river". To this proposal Bernardo de Galvez made answer in part as follows:

For their garrison and that of the other posts, you would need 200 men, who would be divided in the manner set forth by Your Grace. I must inform you that, not only have I no authority to cause extraordinary expenses on the royal treasury, since that the situado (as Your Grace is not ignorant) of this province is reduced to the mere wages of the employes and the pay of the troops of the province, but that there is also added to this difficulty that of the garrison of all this colony being at present too short to assign 200 men to those settlements. Consequently, I cannot assent to your proposition, although I can lay it before His Majesty so that he may determine what may be his royal pleasure. I charge Your Grace meanwhile to endeavor to prevent the English from entering said rivers, and to see to it that they do not entice our Indians, this being a matter that is so straitly charged in the instructions carried by Your Grace.

I received the plan which Your Grace sent me by which I shall have knowledge of those settlements. I thank you a thousand times for it.

May God preserve Your Grace many years, Nueva Orleans, January 13, 1779.

Spain soon declared war against England, so that the loyal British of the West at this time had two opponents: rebel Americans under George Rogers Clark and Spaniards under the officials of Louisiana. The English lost no time in preparing for an attack upon both. They set about to win over as many of the Indian tribes as possible, among them the Sacs and Foxes. The latter were invited to meet King George's military agent, Joseph Calvé, "at the River des Mouins". A French trader, Pierre Prevost, notified George Rogers Clark early in 1780 that "the people [traders] from michilimakinac who are at the River des Moins tell the Savages that they regard you As The mean-

est of wretches, saying everything against you and all the People of the Illinois advising the Savages to Pillage all those who Come from there, consequently I have not yet gone from here. I could not probably Withdraw without losing money, because of the Counsel of these rascals.”²⁶ Although an Anglo-Savage army attacked St. Louis afterwards, the expedition proved to be little more than a useless foray.²⁷

In December, 1780, Francisco Cruzat wrote about “the expenses which the English are incurring and the exorbitant amounts of merchandise which are continually consumed among the Indian tribes, in order to attract them to their side, inducing them by deceitful and threatening words, to turn against us.” He also informed his superior at New Orleans of another fact of interest about the native inhabitants of the Des Moines Valley. To quote from his letter:²⁸

I have just learned that a band of the Aioas [Iowa], doubtless excited by the enemy, has corrupted the Hotos [Oto] tribe which is located on the upper Misury and has promised them to join the other tribes opposed to us in order to show as great hostility as possible toward us. I do not doubt the truth of this, for I know the Indians, and I know by experience that the appearance of gain does not excite them to take action, but the reality of the presents does. Since the English make so many of these to all the tribes of whom they wish to make use, they always obtain from them whatever they desire, unless, by the same methods, we destroy their hopes by deceiving the barbarians as they are doing, and, as I have already said, with exorbitant gifts. By this news, although it deserves some confirmation, and by other, which I am receiving daily, and which is current in these countries, but which I omit, as they are related to one another, Your Lordship can infer the situation of these settlements and that of the tribes allied to us. I am contriving to satisfy them more by astuteness than by presents, for, although I work by

²⁶ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 404, 406.

²⁷ *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XII, p. 362.

²⁸ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 413, 414-416.

means of presents as much as is possible to me, they never reach the hundredth part of those which our enemies are distributing among them, as is well known and as Your Lordship can inform yourself — a reason which makes it possible for them to find as many Indian auxiliaries as they wish.

For some time, it seems, the Spanish officials had praised the valor, zeal, and experience of a retired officer named Don Esteban Boucher de Monbruen. Cruzat proposed to put him in command of a small force for further service and in February, 1781, received instructions "to keep Monsieur Boucher de Monbrun, with a detachment of forty militiamen, on the Misisipi among the Sac tribe" forty leagues from St. Louis in order to observe the movements of the English and win the affection of the tribes. Accordingly de Monbruen was stationed at the Sac village just above the mouth of the Des Moines River near the site of the present town of Montrose, Iowa. He must have done his duty unusually well, for the English in the spring of 1783 complained of a "Mr. Moumbourne Bouché . . . with a Gang of Moroders, whom annoy the Traders very much, by exacting Goods &c."²⁹

PROPOSED ERECTION OF A FORT AT THE MOUTH OF THE DES MOINES

By the terms of the treaty of peace which concluded the Revolutionary War in 1783, England retained for Canadians the important right to trade with the Indians upon American soil. About the year 1784 there were formed two corporations for the exploitation of the fur-bearing regions of Canada and the territory west and southwest of the Great Lakes — the North-West and Mackinac companies. The latter appears to have plied its traffic in the country now

²⁹ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XII, p. 66; Vol. XVIII, pp. 419, 422; Houck's *The Spanish Régime in Missouri*, Vol. I, pp. 198, 201; *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XII, p. 363.

included in the States of Wisconsin, Illinois, Minnesota, and Iowa. Spanish authority west of the Mississippi seems to have been regularly defied and even Indian tribes of the Upper Missouri were reached by stemming the current of the Des Moines and the St. Peter's rivers. The use of these water routes by the English resulted in the loss of considerable trade at the Spanish towns of St. Louis and New Orleans.³⁰

Some time during the year 1791 the Governor of Louisiana asserted that the only way to keep the English traders from poaching upon Spanish preserves was to construct "two strong posts on the Mouis and San Pedro Rivers." Baron de Carondelet who became Governor in 1792, when called upon to give his opinion about the plan, answered as follows:³¹

In compliance with your Excellency's order dated February 17 of last year [1792] I have to report that under present circumstances the establishment of the two forts proposed by the then Lieutenant Governor of Ylinoia, Don Manuel Perez, as the only means to restrain the introduction of the English to the Misouris seems to me not only useless but dangerous. They are useless because two forts in a region such as that, extending over more than two hundred and fifty miles of uninhabited country, will never interfere with the communication and the passage of the English to the tribes living near the Misouris. They are dangerous because, this province being so destitute of forces that it can scarcely maintain a garrison of two hundred men at San Louis de Ylinoia [St. Louis], at five hundred leagues distance from this capital [New Orleans], it is evident that these forts situated farther up by eighty leagues or more, in the midst of the warlike tribes who surround them, will immediately excite the wrath of the English and will also arouse the resentment of these same tribes who are so well disposed toward the latter, so that the forts will be exposed at every instant

³⁰ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, p. 439.

³¹ Houck's *The Spanish Régime in Missouri*, Vol. I, pp. 332, 342, 343; *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, p. 441.

to the attacks of the one or the other without having any place to rely upon for reinforcements.

Nevertheless, by the year 1794 Governor de Carondelet had changed his mind. He warned Spain that the English of Canada and especially the people of the United States endangered Spanish domination west of the Mississippi, the rich fur trade of the Missouri being their main objective. Only military preparedness could prevent encroachments upon the western half of the Great Valley. Among the fortifications deemed necessary for the adequate protection of Spanish trade and Spanish settlements de Carondelet recommended forts at the entrance to the St. Peter's and the Des Moines rivers. In this way the communication of the English with the savage nations upon the Upper Missouri could be effectually cut off, for Canadians were then said to be introducing themselves in increasing numbers "upon said river and among the nations living near it."

De Carondelet further believed that if such a fort were established many settlers would flock to its vicinity from other Spanish towns, from Canada, and from the banks of the Ohio, and build up towns more populous than St. Louis. Furthermore, military detachments stationed on the Des Moines and the St. Peter's farther north "would suffice to cause the dominion of Spain to be respected throughout Upper Louisiana" against the usurpations of the English and Americans. Such detachments might be recruited from foreigners who should offer to serve five years and afterwards devote themselves to the cultivation of the soil for another five years and at the same time serve as militia-men.³²

Despite the thoroughness of the Governor's military re-

³² Robertson's *Louisiana under Spain, France and the United States*, Vol. I, pp. 298, 299, 335-337; Houck's *The Spanish Régime in Missouri*, Vol. II, pp. 10, 12.

port and the comprehensiveness of his plan of defense the government of Spain took no steps to strengthen its hold upon the western country. Canadian traders continued to visit the region as much as before, and when the Osage Indians of the Missouri country, then at outs with their Spanish masters, made their way to trade with the English upon the Des Moines River, the Lieutenant-Governor of "Illinoia" called attention to the importance of persuading the Indians of the Iowa country — the Ioways, the Sacs, and the Foxes — to refuse the Osages and the English traders a passage across their hunting-grounds.³³

By the year 1795 enterprising British traders had pushed out and planted a blockhouse as far westward as the Platte River in the present State of Nebraska. They also frequently visited the Indian tribes of the upper Missouri west of the Big Sioux River, or else these Indians went eastward to exchange their furs for merchandise furnished by tribes upon the Mississippi. Spanish subjects must have been aware of this activity when some of them organized "The Commercial Company for the Discovery of Nations of the Upper Missouri" and sent Jean Baptiste Trudeau and eight others to conduct the enterprise in the wilderness. On the many trips which Trudeau had made during twenty-six years he had sojourned with the Yankton Sioux upon the headwaters of the Des Moines. On the journey northward he met a few members of this nation who told him they lived on the Des Moines: soon afterward he had the pleasure of being pillaged by them and their Teton Sioux companions. Trudeau later came upon a band of Sioux who dwelt among the Arickara and every spring resorted to the Sioux upon the St. Peter's and the Des Moines rivers to trade their furs for merchandise. The new trade enterprise of the Spanish, or rather French, merchants of

³³ Houck's *The Spanish Régime in Missouri*, Vol. II, p. 50.

St. Louis proved a failure, because, as Trudeau remarked, "of the reluctance they have always had and still have of making expenditures, and because of their fear of failure, they being too easily disheartened by the first obstacles and losses which are encountered; things which have never stopped the English in their commercial ventures."³⁴

Spanish officials bewailed their lack of a sufficient military force to cope with the pressing Anglo-Saxon peril. Although they planned and thirsted for the complete destruction of the English fur trade in the Upper Mississippi Valley, without a sufficient military force they could not hope to monopolize the trade upon Spanish soil. With nothing to fear, therefore, "the traders of the River Monigona" were reported to have sent twelve horses laden with goods destined for the Pawnees and other Indians upon the Platte and the caravan crossed the Missouri in December, 1795.³⁵ Under such circumstances and at a time when Napoleon Bonaparte contemplated the revival of a great colonial empire in America, Spain transferred the whole of Louisiana back to France in 1800.

A SPANISH LAND GRANT NEAR THE MOUTH OF THE DES MOINES RIVER

Closely connected with the desire to exclude all but Spanish subjects from trade with the natives of Upper Louisiana was the Spanish policy of granting tracts of land to promote the settlement of the wilderness. Among the few land grants made in the Iowa country was that of Louis Tesson Honoré. Ten or twelve miles above the mouth of the Des Moines, on the present site of Montrose, this Frenchman built cabins, cultivated a small plot, planted an orchard of apple trees, and lived in the Iowa country from 1798 until

³⁴ *South Dakota Historical Collections*, Vol. VII, pp. 403, 404, 413, 417, 421, 422, 425, 439, 463, 474.

³⁵ Houck's *The Spanish Régime in Missouri*, Vol. II, pp. 136, 191.

1805. On March 30, 1799, Honoré obtained a concession of land three miles square and a monopoly of the fur trade in that region. Besides, he was "to watch the savages and to keep them in fealty which they owe His Majesty." So poor a business man was Honoré that some time before 1805 an attorney appeared upon the premises and in the presence of two witnesses levied an attachment as a result of which Joseph Robidoux became the owner of the tract.³⁶

ENGLISH SUBJECTS IN THE DES MOINES VALLEY

Although it is well known that fur traders from the English province of Canada reached the Des Moines River as early as 1777, the records at present available do not reveal their identity. Jean Baptiste Faribault was the first representative of the Canadian merchants whose name has come down to us. So successful had he proved as a trader in one season's operations that his employer, Gillespie of the Mackinac Company,³⁷ in 1799 assigned him to a more important post about two hundred miles up the Des Moines River. At this place, named "Redwood", Faribault for four years carried on a profitable business, with the aid of an interpreter named Deban and several assistants. To the region on the upper Des Moines came bands of Sioux Indians, the Sacs and Foxes, and the Ioways. After the winter months spent in idleness the traders sought out the Indian hunting camps and for beaver, otter, deer, and bear skins exchanged blankets, cloths, calicoes, tobacco, cheap jewelry, and other articles. In the spring of 1800, and every year thereafter, Faribault and his *voyageurs* descend-

³⁶ THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XII, pp. 369, 370.

³⁷ In the *Minnesota Historical Collections*, Vol. III, p. 170, the writer speaks of Mr. Gillespie of "the North West Company". This mistake was easily made because the two companies consisted of practically the same Montreal firms and the operations of both were generally ascribed to the North-West Company. See THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XII, pp. 479, 481.

ed the river to deliver furs and peltries to "Mr. Crawford, one of the accredited agents of the Company."³⁸

During the winter of 1801-1802 Thomas G. Anderson, an agent of a Green Bay trader, set up a shop at the Ioway village fifty miles up the Des Moines River. To compete for a share of the trade of this "vile set" of Indians a Frenchman named Julien also established himself nearby. The two traders agreed to await the return of the Indians from their hunts near the Missouri, but later Anderson learned that Julien had secretly sent goods to the Ioway hunting camps. As a punishment for such trickery the Englishman left his own interpreter in charge of the Des Moines post, started westward across country with seven loaded men, and in the end did a splendid season's trade.³⁹

So considerable was the business in furs conducted by English subjects west of the Mississippi River that, when the United States had bought Louisiana from Napoleon, President Jefferson at once made preparations to drive foreigners from the fur-bearing field. Even before the purchase was actually made he instructed Lewis and Clark, leaders of an expedition to explore the land west of the Mississippi, to collect information about the Indian inhabitants. In the spring of 1804 the explorers learned that the Ayouwais (Ioways), nicknamed "Ne Perce" by Canadian traders, had a village of probably eight hundred souls, including two hundred warriors, forty leagues up the river "Demoin, on the Southeast side." Besides the Sacs and Foxes these natives, "a turbulent savage race", hunted as far west as the Missouri, collected annually \$6000 worth of "deer skins principally, and the skins of the black bear, beaver, otter, grey fox, racoon, muskrat, and mink", and

³⁸ THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XII, p. 483.

³⁹ THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XII, pp. 485, 486.

traded mostly with "Mr. Crawford, and other merchants from Michilimackinac."

Lewis and Clark also reported the activities of the Yankton Sioux of the Dakota country. These savages roamed and hunted among the rivers of northwestern Iowa, as well as about the headwaters of the Des Moines River. They dealt with traders at their hunting-camps and sometimes at the Ioway village on the Des Moines "where a partial trade has been carried on with them for a few years past, by a Mr. Crawford." It is interesting to know that when Zebulon M. Pike made his voyage of exploration up the Mississippi one year later, he prepared some notes by the use of which a map was made to show the course of the river and one of its tributaries, the Des Moines, with twenty streams emptying into it. Upon the chart he located, some distance above the great bend of the river, Fort Crawford; a little farther north and opposite the "Ayouwa" village, Fort Gelaspy; just above what is probably the site of Ottumwa, he located Fort St. Louis and Fort Crawford opposite one another; and still farther on, Crawford and Redwood.

Faribault's memoir of his services at Redwood under Messrs. Gillespie and Crawford, the references of Lewis and Clark to a Mr. Crawford and other Michilimackinac traders, and Pike's notes present a rather unsatisfactory picture of fur-trade activities at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Lewis, Clark, and Pike no doubt obtained their information, meagre as it is, from the traders whom they met. No explanation of the forts named by Pike has yet been offered except that they were doubtless traders' blockhouses — "points of commercial vantage rather than military strong-holds." Their names certainly suggest that two of them were called after Louis Crawford and the other two perhaps after Redford Crawford and George Gillespie.

These British traders had headquarters at Prairie du Chien about this time and were possibly partners of the Mackinac Company.⁴⁰

FOREIGN TRADERS EXPELLED FROM THE DES MOINES VALLEY

Scarcely had Lewis and Clark set out upon their expedition to the Pacific Coast when the United States in 1804 made a treaty with the Sacs and Foxes who used the Iowa country as their hunting-grounds. Among other things it was provided that the government should furnish a trading-house in order to put a stop to the abuses and impositions practiced upon the allied tribes by private traders; while the Indians agreed to allow American traders a free and safe passage through their country. President Thomas Jefferson favored such treaties as "the means of retaining exclusive commerce with the Indians west of the Mississippi River — a right indispensable to the policy of governing those Indians by commerce rather than by arms." It is clear that the American government was now bent upon asserting its exclusive claim to the fur trade upon American soil.

A government representative, Zebulon M. Pike, in 1805 brought important news to the chief men of a Sac village which stood near Louis Tesson Honoré's Spanish land grant, ten or twelve miles above the mouth of the Des Moines. He announced that with their consent a trading establishment would be erected at that place, since it would be easily accessible to the Ioways and the Yankton Sioux and to all the Sacs and Foxes. The chiefs seem never to have agreed to the proposal, and the presumption is that British traders had great influence in their councils. Nevertheless, a United States Indian agent, Nicolas Boilvin, came

⁴⁰ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, pp. 711, 712, 714. See also *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XII, pp. 170, 171, 487-489, 490, 491.

to dwell among them and reconcile them to their new American overlords. It was also his duty occasionally to visit the Ioway village on the Des Moines and other Sac towns, and to prevent traders from introducing ardent spirits into the country.⁴¹

So far as is known Canadian traders and agents for English merchants still dealt with the native population of the Iowa interior. Faribault in the autumn of 1808, after an absence of four years, returned to his old post at "Redwood", on the upper Des Moines, and when a band of Ioways was on the point of robbing and killing him and his *voyageurs*, he was saved by his friends, the Yankton Sioux. But in the same year, as a part of its general policy of retaliating against Great Britain for the repeated humiliation inflicted upon American shipping, the United States government undertook to "destroy the equilibrium and profits of British traders in the upper Mississippi Valley". Among other steps taken to accomplish this end, such as levying duties upon English goods imported for the Indian trade, a detachment of the First Regiment of Infantry was ordered to march northward and build a government fort and trading-house as near the Des Moines River as possible. For some unexplained reason the site chosen for the establishment was that of the present city of Fort Madison, about twenty miles above the mouth of the river. The story of old Fort Madison or Belle Vue and of "Le Moine Factory" has already been told and does not properly come within the history of the Des Moines Valley.⁴²

Although their traffic with the Indians was thus being undermined, the British traders from Canada did not meekly resign. On the contrary they became the principal insti-

⁴¹ THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XII, pp. 489, 490, 491, 494.

⁴² THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XII, pp. 170-178, 495-503.

gators of Indian hostility against Americans and fanned the flame of Indian discontent wherever possible. Although the Mackinac Company sold out in 1811, and John Jacob Astor obtained a controlling share in the new enterprise which he then called the South West Company, the same traders, clerks, and boatmen did the work and independent Canadian merchants still continued to ply their traffic upon American soil. Accordingly, when war was declared to exist between Great Britain and the United States, Great Britain's Indian traders in Canada did everything in their power to bring success to English arms in the Upper Mississippi Valley. Indeed, the War of 1812 in the West came to be merely a conflict between British traders, assisted by their Indian allies, on the one side and American troops on the other.

Early in 1814, while British traders were making preparations to fall upon the Americans at the village of Prairie du Chien, word came that "a Capt. of Gov. Howard was to come to Prairie du Chien with an army of 2700 men." This rumor was not believed by the traders, and it was also learned that the American force had ascended the Des Moines River and "built a Ft. at Pees" before descending. No explanation can be offered of the event here referred to. After the Americans surrendered Fort Shelby at Prairie du Chien in the summer of 1814, Major Zachary Taylor led a keel-boat expedition of nearly four hundred men up the Mississippi from St. Louis, but owing to a skirmish with the British and the Sacs and Foxes he was compelled to retire below Rock Island, stopping long enough near the river Des Moines to repair the boats and bury the dead. Opposite the mouth of the river, in the Illinois Territory, Taylor then constructed Fort Johnson.

Thus British traders of French and English birth held undisputed sway in the Upper Mississippi Valley and by the

distribution of presents from the captured fort at Prairie du Chien they retained the affection of the native tribes. At one time the Sacs and Foxes brought ten scalps to them from "the Rivière Des Forts", perhaps the Des Moines, asserting that they would continue "to bring them in as they do ducks from the swamps." Hoping to retain the trade ascendancy thus won by arms, British subjects in May, 1815, were not a little startled to learn the terms of the treaty which concluded the War of 1812: they were to have no more privileges in the American Northwest. Thus ended the British régime in the Wisconsin-Iowa country. The result was the revival of Astor's South West Company for the exploitation of the American fur-bearing field.⁴³

UP THE DES MOINES VALLEY TO LORD SELKIRK'S COLONY

Just south of the boundary line between the United States and Canada, on the site of the present city of Pembina, North Dakota, the Earl of Selkirk in 1812 established a colony of Scotch Highlanders for the prosecution of the fur business. It was in fact another chapter in the history of the war of competition between two sets of Canadian merchants — the Hudson's Bay Company and the North-West Company. In the summer of 1815 two hundred more Scotchmen arrived at the Red River or Pembina settlement, an event which brought on armed conflict with representatives of the hostile North-West Company. To such hardships, besides the rigors of a northern wilderness region, were the pioneers of western Canada exposed until the competing companies effected a merger in the year 1821. After that time, to secure men for the extension of their monopoly in Canada and the United States, especially among the Indians of the Upper Missouri and the West, the promoters

⁴³ See THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XII, pp. 504-506, 514-517.

issued a prospectus by which they attracted from Europe "some good and credulous Germans and greedy Swiss".⁴⁴

Meanwhile, in the year 1815 after the close of the War of 1812, so run the reminiscences of an Iowa pioneer, Lord Selkirk arranged for the delivery of five hundred head of cattle at the colony, giving the contract to a citizen of New York. Since St. Charles, in Missouri Territory, was the nearest point at which the cattle could be obtained, the contract was sublet to "Old Dick Carr" and B. Lewis Musick. The story of their driving the herd through the Iowa country to Canada is related in the following words:

Carr and Musick were energetic men, and soon had their cattle collected, buying mostly on credit until they had completed the contract. Giles Sullivan was hired to assist in driving as far as the Des Moines River. They came up the Mississippi bottom and crossed the Des Moines about where St. Francisville is now situated, and stopped for several days on the Sand Prairie, near the present village of Vincennes. Here Sullivan left them, and Carr and Musick, with other assistants, proceeded up the divide between Skunk and Des Moines Rivers, passing through String Prairie, toward Big Mound, and must have passed very near Absalom Anderson's present farm. The Indians troubled them to some extent, and succeeded in stealing some of their stock; but no serious loss was experienced. In due course of time, they reached Selkirk's settlement, where his agent, well pleased with the cattle, issued a bill of exchange for their value in the name of the original contractor. Carr and Musick made their way home, striking the Mississippi River about St. Paul, from which point they came in canoes. They handed over the draft to the contractor, who, by some sort of hocus pocus, cheated Carr and Musick out of every dollar.

John S. McCune, of St. Louis, the King of the steamboat trade, got his first start in the world by helping drive cattle from Louisiana, Mo. to the Selkirk settlement. Whether he went through with Carr and Musick, the writer is not advised; but it is certain that he

⁴⁴ Beltrami's *A Pilgrimage in Europe and America*, Vol. II, pp. 348-353, 360-366; Holcombe's *Minnesota in Three Centuries*, Vol. II, pp. 69-75.

made some two or three trips to the Selkirk settlement as a cattle-driver when he was quite a young man.⁴⁵

Other records substantiate the statement that commerce was carried on between the Selkirk Colony on the Red River and the American frontier settlements in Missouri by way of the Iowa wilderness. Early in the fall of 1821 another "herd of cattle, mostly cows, arrived from the State of Missouri, in charge of a party of armed drovers, and were distributed in the Spring of 1822 among the Swiss settlers. This distribution of cattle, which had been contracted for by Lord Selkirk before his death, was all that had been done for the colonists in fulfillment of the pledges made them before their departure from Europe." On their return to Missouri the drovers were permitted to take along five disappointed families — indeed, their glowing descriptions of Missouri induced several other families to abandon Lord Selkirk's Colony in 1823.⁴⁶ Another interesting reminder of the relations between the far-away Canadian settlement and the nearest American pioneers is a map of Iowa Territory showing "Dixon and McKnight's Route to Pembina Settlements in 1822". These men ascended the valleys of the Des Moines and its tributary, the Raccoon, proceeded almost straight northward along the divide between Spirit Lake and the headwaters of the Des Moines to the sources of the St. Peter's and Red rivers, and then descended the valley of the Red River to Pembina.⁴⁷

AMERICAN FUR COMPANY ACTIVITY UPON THE DES MOINES RIVER

By the building of a fort at Prairie du Chien, another upon Rock Island, and a third in Illinois just below the mouth of the Des Moines River, the United States in 1816

⁴⁵ A. W. Harlan in *The History of Lee County, Iowa*, p. 412.

⁴⁶ Chetlain's *The Red River Colony*, pp. 20, 21.

⁴⁷ I. Judson's map of the Territory of Iowa in 1838.

made clear beyond a doubt its intention to rule the wilderness region of the Upper Mississippi Valley. Henceforth troops were expected to enforce the acts of Congress which regulated trade with the Indians. It was a time when the government became wedded to the policy of protecting and fostering American industries and American commerce. One of the first fruits of American tariff legislation in the years after the War of 1812 was the birth of what came to be the first American trust: John Jacob Astor reorganized the South West Fur Company and re-named it the American Fur Company, establishing headquarters on Mackinac Island at the head of Lake Michigan. Early in 1817 Astor's enterprise commenced a vigorous commercial campaign in competition with a large number of private traders and the government "factories" or trading establishments located at Prairie du Chien and at Fort Edwards in Illinois below the mouth of the Des Moines.

Major Stephen H. Long, a topographical engineer of the United States Army, on his journey down the Mississippi to St. Louis in August, 1817, stopped at Fort Edwards. There he noticed traces of recent land surveys — the harbinger of settlers yet to come. Crossing the Great River to its western bank, Major Long and Dr. Lane passed driftwood, snags, and sawyers at the mouth of the Des Moines and ascended a few miles. They found the water too shallow to admit boats very far up the stream, although spring floods usually rendered the river navigable for Mackinaw boats from one hundred and sixty to two hundred miles. Long reported that the Ioway Indians dwelt about one hundred and twenty miles up the stream and also observed many fragments of coal of apparently good quality upon the sandbars.⁴⁸

In the autumn of 1817 two American Fur Company boats

⁴⁸ *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. XVI, pp. 171, 172.

arrived at Prairie du Chien from Mackinac on their way to trade with the Indians upon the Des Moines River. The agents, Russell Farnham and Daniel Darling, having obtained government licenses before they started, received orders from the commandant at Fort Crawford to procure new licenses at St. Louis. The masters and their Canadian crews were in fact sent to St. Louis under military escort and appear to have been deprived of the season's trade: the American Fur Company afterwards recovered \$5000 at law for the damage done to its business. Nevertheless, Astor's men thereafter aimed to reach the Indian hunting-camps upon the Des Moines and thus beat out the government factory located at Fort Edwards, to which the Sacs, Foxes, and Ioways had been coming to trade the furs and peltries collected in the Des Moines Valley.⁴⁹ Indeed, competition became so keen and the American Fur Company's hostility so well organized that an act of Congress in 1822 brought about the collapse of the government factory system in the West. Henceforth the Company exerted its efforts to drive independent dealers from the field by buying them up or depriving them of business.⁵⁰

After the year 1822 the individuals who prosecuted trade in the Iowa country were required to obtain licenses from the government. John Campbell, Joshua Palen, and Maurice Blondeau dealt with the Sacs, Foxes, and Ioways of the Mississippi and Des Moines rivers, and were followed in 1823 by Jean B. Caron, Russell Farnham, and Charles Fabvre. In 1824 licenses were issued to B. Vasquez and St. Armant, while Joseph Dechamp and Edward Plondre were to operate upon the "Raccoon River", perhaps the well-known tributary of the Des Moines.⁵¹ By an act of

⁴⁹ THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XII, pp. 520-528.

⁵⁰ THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XII, pp. 531-536.

⁵¹ THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XII, pp. 536, 538, 539.

Congress passed in 1824 it became "the duty of Indian agents to designate, from time to time, certain convenient and suitable places for carrying on trade with the different Indian tribes, and to require all traders to trade at the places thus designated, and at no other place or places." Traders were to cease sending out "runners to secure credits and follow the hunters to their places of chase".⁵²

In the autumn of 1824 certain Sac and Fox chiefs called upon the United States Indian agent at Fort Armstrong to complain "that their Traders are not to be allowed to go into the Interior of their country to receive their pay in Skins for Credits given them in goods by the Traders in the fall of the year". They asserted that the haunts of game animals were so far from the Mississippi that it would be a great hardship for Indian hunters "to travel a distance of from one to Two or Three hundred miles for a little Gunpowder or any other articles that they might want and more particularly in the winter season while the Snow is on the ground, or in the months of February and March when they ought to be hunting Bear, Beaver and Otters." In view of their lack of horses the Indians saw no way of transporting their families and goods to the hunting-grounds nor of bringing their packs of "Skins, Tallow and Jerked meat" back from the hunt.

Realizing that "if ever the Traders refuse to give the Sauk and Fox Indians credit of arms, amunition, axes, Traps and some Blankets and strouds, the Indians must literally starve," and inasmuch as "the distance from the Raccoon Fork of River de Moine to the Flint hills [a trading post on or near the present site of Burlington] is great, and too far for an Indian to leave his hunt to travel for any small article he may want for the use of his family," Thomas Forsyth, the Indian agent, licensed Maurice

⁵² *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, pp. 337-340.

Blondeau to trade "at the Dirt lodge high up the River de Moine". Blondeau's post was thus established near the Sac and Fox hunting country and during the hunting season from September to April was always accessible to Indian customers. The summer's trade was never large enough to repay the dealers for their trouble.⁵³

In the fall of 1825 André St. Amond (St. Amant) and Jean Baptiste Caron secured licenses to carry on trade at the Dirt Lodge and Flint Hills, while Joseph Montraville and Joseph Laframboise got permits to set up a post at "Fort Confederation, on the Second Forks of the Des Moines River" for trade with the Yankton Sioux.⁵⁴ This "fort", probably just a temporary stockade, doubtless stood at the junction of the upper branches of the Des Moines in the present Humboldt County. The region had no doubt been much frequented for several years. In the treaty of 1825 with the Sioux Indians the United States government obtained from the Yanktons a promise to protect the persons and property of licensed American traders and to seize and deliver to federal officers any foreigner or other person not legally authorized to trade in their country.⁵⁵ This treaty was evidently intended to counteract the influence of British traders on the Upper Missouri.

Beginning in August, 1826, Russell Farnham plied the fur trade at the Dirt Lodge in competition, it seems, with Francis Labussierre. Ramsay Crooks, Astor's right hand man in the West, wrote from St. Louis in April, 1827, that Farnham's Indian customers, panic-stricken by the rumor of warlike preparations on the part of their northern neighbors and old enemies, the Sioux, had abandoned their fine beaver country without attempting to catch a single animal.

⁵³ THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XII, pp. 541-545.

⁵⁴ *Senate Documents*, 2nd Session, 19th Congress, No. 58, pp. 5, 6.

⁵⁵ Kappler's *Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, p. 227.

Crooks added in conclusion: "This is the most to be regretted, as the rumors were unfounded, and the season has been uncommonly favorable for a Beaver hunt which would have given us at least 3000 more of the article than we shall have." The season's trade in this region proved to be a failure.⁵⁶

Joseph Laframboise met the hunters of the Yankton Sioux "at the second fork" of the Des Moines from 1825 to 1827, part of the time in competition with Wright Prescott. Beginning in the autumn of 1827 Pierre Chouteau, Jr., succeeded Farnham at the Dirt Lodge and served the American Fur Company until November, 1830. William Downey appears to have obtained some of the trade at that point between 1826 and 1828. Laframboise resumed his trade on the Upper Des Moines during the years 1829 to 1831, and took out a license again in 1833 and in 1834 for trade upon "Crooked River near des Moines", while Alexander Fari-bault was stationed at the upper forks. Meanwhile Farnham had returned to the Dirt Lodge for the trade year of 1830-1831. Then John Forsyth came on as the Company's agent at the same place for the year 1831-1832 — the only licensed trader in the Iowa country during this time. Except in the case of Laframboise noted above no more government licenses were granted after the autumn of 1833 when the American Fur Company employing ten men, A. G. Morgan with two men, and Michael Tisson with four men, were authorized to trade with the Sacs and Foxes at the old Dirt Lodge.⁵⁷

Farnham and Davenport, members of the American Fur

⁵⁶ Clarence M. Burton's transcript of Ramsay Crooks's *Letter Book*, pp. 271, 276, 298.

⁵⁷ For all these details of the fur trade see Van der Zee's *Fur Trade Operations in the Eastern Iowa Country from 1800 to 1833*, in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XII, pp. 547-549; *Senate Documents*, 2nd Session, 23d Congress, No. 69, p. 7.

Company, have left an interesting account of their fur trade transactions in the Iowa wilderness from 1824 to 1831. They stated the amount of capital and the number of clerks, traders, and boatmen they had employed, and the kinds of American and English goods which they had sold. They had done a credit business with the Sacs and Foxes and were still counting on the recovery of over \$50,000 of debt. Furs in the Iowa country were said to be diminishing rapidly, as game was disappearing; while the trade labored under the disadvantage of being conducted at the same places from year to year. Farnham and Davenport made important recommendations to the United States government at this time, among others being the purchase of Sac and Fox lands upon the west bank of the Mississippi, in order to remove the Indians from close contact with unprincipled whites "to whom they part with not only their arms and ammunition, but even their clothing, for strong drink", thus destroying the American Fur Company's trade in furs and peltries at Rock Island, the Flint Hills, and the Dirt Lodge upon the Des Moines.⁵⁸

Early in the year 1832 George Davenport appeared at Washington, D. C., to inform Congress that the Sacs and Foxes were ready to sell their lands. But not until September, 1832, after the Black Hawk War, were the allied tribes forced to cede a strip of country along the Mississippi, partly to indemnify the United States and partly to secure western Illinois against future attacks. At the same time the government promised the Indians a specie annuity for thirty years and agreed to pay \$40,000 to the American Fur Company to liquidate Sac and Fox debts. Then, on the first of June, 1833, with the exception of Keokuk's Reserve upon the Iowa River, the title to eastern Iowa became vested in the United States government and the Indians, after

⁵⁸ THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XII, pp. 554-557.

having dwelt in their villages upon the Mississippi for a generation or two, were obliged to remove westward. Henceforth the scenes of barter and exchange were to be shifted westward also in advance of the wave of whites who were coming to find lands and build homes.

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INDIAN AGENTS IN IOWA

[This is the third in a series of articles on the Indian agent, written by Miss Gallaher. The first two, presenting a general survey of the work of the Indian agents in the United States from colonial times to the present, appeared in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS for January and April, 1916.—EDITOR]

I

AGENTS AMONG THE SACS AND FOXES

The intercourse between a conquered people and their conquerors has usually been marked by hope of revenge on the one side and contempt on the other. When the two races are brought closely and constantly into contact these feelings are intensified, and open hostility often results. The relations between the people of the United States and the American Indians have been no exception to the general rule. All the States in the Union have had practically the same experience, although the feeling of the whites towards the natives has varied with the periods of development in each particular region. Conciliation was first attempted, for the traders and explorers were few in number and anxious to establish friendly relations with the Indians. Like the ripples breaking on the shore when the tide is coming in, the first appearance of the white men did not appear formidable to the Indians; but with the increase in the number of settlers friction developed and fighting almost invariably resulted. When the wave of emigration had become so large that the Indians were submerged or swept onward, quiet was once more restored. The white men gradually forgot their hatred for the people they had dispossessed and began to pity them. Missionaries and teach-

ers were sent out to the frontier, only to have their efforts rendered unavailing by the struggles which constantly sprang up anew.

The history of the relations between the white people and the Indians in Iowa has been like that of the country as a whole, although the period of hostility was shorter in this region than in many others. The pioneer days in Iowa came at a time when the Indians had become accustomed to the idea of removal; yet the policy had not been in operation so long that congestion of the Indian population had resulted. At the time of the settlement of Iowa, removal of the Indians was the panacea for all the difficulties resulting from the contact of the two races. Messages of the Governors and reports of agents and army officers were filled with suggestions that the Indians be given a home west of the Mississippi River, where they would be free from corrupting associations with the whites. Acknowledging their inability to restrain the white settlers from the unceded lands, the representatives of the government constantly advocated the purchase of the Indian country and the transportation of the natives to some locality not yet coveted by the whites.

With respect to Indian affairs the history of Iowa may be divided into three periods: the first period, from 1803 to 1832, when the Indians were in possession of the land and the white men visited it only occasionally; the second period, from 1832 to 1848, when the whites held part of the lands and the Indians occupied an ever decreasing portion; and the third period, from 1848 to the present. Although there have been Indians in Iowa almost constantly even since 1848, they have been here contrary to State law and the rules of the Indian Department, or have been permitted to remain here at the will of the State government, as in the case of the Indians at Tama.

During the early period the Iowa country was visited by

four classes of Americans: traders, miners, soldiers, and government agents. The intercourse between the races at this time was greatly influenced by the geographical location of the region. Two great rivers, the Mississippi on the east, and the Missouri on the west, opened a highway on each side, while smaller rivers led into the interior. As a result fur traders and miners pushed their way into the Indian country at a very early date and it was soon necessary to station soldiers and officials on the border to regulate the Indian trade and to enforce the laws. Later, when the settlers crossed the Mississippi, the difficulty of keeping the peace between the two races increased and the duties of the agents became even more burdensome than during the earlier period.

At the time of the incorporation of Louisiana into the possessions of the United States the local administration of Indian affairs was in the hands of agents,¹ who were usually traders residing within the Indian country. The chief villages of the various Indian tribes were, as a rule, situated on the banks of the rivers; and the first government agents, as well as the earliest traders, were located at some point where the Indians collected.

THE FIRST INDIAN AGENT IN IOWA

The first Indian agent who appears to have exercised jurisdiction over the Indians living within the boundaries of what is now the State of Iowa was Nicolas Boilvin, who had been interpreter to the Osages as early as 1804. He was a French-Canadian trader and doubtless had much personal influence over the Indians with whom he came in contact. On April 9, 1806,² Henry Dearborn, the Secretary of War, appointed Boilvin assistant Indian agent for the

¹ THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XIV, pp. 27, 29.

² Letter of Cato Sells, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to the writer, April 23, 1915.

tribes residing along the Mississippi River above the mouth of the Missouri. Dearborn wrote as follows:

You having been appointed an Assistant Indian Agent, will make the Sacque Village, at the Rapids of the Mississippi, above the mouth of the River Lemoin, your principal place of residence, but will occasionally visit other Towns and places, particularly the Iawe [Iowa] Towns on the Lemoin, the other Sacque Towns, and the Prairie due Chien.

You will make every exertion in your power to conciliate the friendship of the Indians, generally, towards the United States, and to encourage a peaceable and friendly disposition among themselves; to prevent any acts of hostility on red or white people, and to cause proper punishment to be inflicted on such individuals as may be guilty of any hostile acts. You will, by all the means in your power, prevent the use of ardent spirits among the Indians. No Trader should be allowed to sell or dispose of any ardent spirits among them; nor be allowed to have any at their trading stations.

You will, by precept and example, teach the Indians such of the arts of agriculture and domestic manufactures, as your situation will admit. You will give all the aid in your power to Mr. Ewing, who has been placed among the Sacques, for the purpose of instructing them in the arts of husbandry. You should early procure Garden seeds, peach and other fruit stones, and apple seeds. A Garden should be established for the most useful vegetables, and nurseries planted with fruit trees; for the purpose of distributing the most useful seeds and trees among such of the Chiefs as will take care to cultivate them. You should also instruct them in the art of cultivating and preserving the fruit trees and garden vegetables.

The cultivation of Potatoes ought to be immediately introduced into your own Garden;—and the Indians should be encouraged to cultivate them, as an important article of food, and the substitute for bread.

As soon as practicable, you will be furnished with a Blacksmith to make and mend the hoes and axes, and repair the Guns of the Natives. Ploughs should be introduced, as soon as any of the Chiefs will consent to use them.³

³ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XIX, pp. 314–316.

Reuben Gold Thwaites located the Sac village on the “River Lemoin”, on the site of the present town of Montrose, Iowa.—*Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XIX, p. 314, footnote.

The following year another agent was appointed and established his headquarters at Prairie du Chien. This was John Campbell, a Scotch-Irish trader, whose term as Indian agent began on December 9, 1807.⁴ There is not much information concerning Campbell's work among the Indians. His attention appears to have been directed towards the east and northeast. Some time during the summer of 1808 Campbell fought a duel with another trader, Redford Crawford, and was killed, thus serving less than a year as Indian agent.⁵

After Campbell's death, Nicolas Boilvin apparently divided his time between Prairie du Chien and the towns farther down the Mississippi River until about 1812, when he was definitely located at Prairie du Chien and another agent was provided for the Indians to the south. Although Prairie du Chien was across the river from the Iowa country, it was a center to which Indians came from the west as well as from the east, and the work done there is of interest in a discussion of Indian administration in Iowa.

In a letter to William Eustis, Secretary of War, in 1811, Boilvin described this settlement as made up of about one hundred families — the majority of the women being Indians. It was visited by about 6000 Indians every year and the agent recommended that a garrison and factory should be established there in order to counteract the influence of the British traders. The Indians, according to Boilvin, were mining as much as 400,000 pounds of lead annually at

⁴ Letter of E. B. Meritt, Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to the writer, May 17, 1915.

In a note, Mr. Thwaites states that Campbell was appointed Indian agent in 1802, but a letter from the superintendent of Indian trade dated September 10, 1808, says: "Mr. Campbell resides at Prairie des Cheins on the upper Mississippi and has lately been appointed Indian Agent there for the United States." — *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XIX, pp. 323, 333.

⁵ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XIX, p. 325.

a place about sixty miles below Prairie du Chien⁶—probably in the Dubuque and Fever River districts.

During the War of 1812 Boilvin was compelled to remove to St. Louis, leaving Prairie du Chien and the Indians in that locality under British control. In 1815, however, he returned to his post⁷ and resumed his work among the Indians in the vicinity of Prairie du Chien. Since a completely centralized agency was unknown in those days, Boilvin spent much of his time in visiting the various Indian villages along the Mississippi and its tributaries. The extent of his authority was undefined. Lewis Cass, the Governor of Michigan Territory, informed Boilvin in a letter of March 29, 1822, that his agency extended east to the Fox-Wisconsin portage,⁸ but its northern and western boundaries were not even mentioned. To Prairie du Chien came Winnebagoes,⁹ Chippewas, Menominees, Sacs and Foxes, and Sioux, although the Winnebagoes appear to have been the most numerous during the later period.

The expenditures of the Prairie du Chien agency during these years were not large, considering the number of Indians who frequented the place. The amount required for articles purchased, for express, for interpreters' salaries,

⁶ *The Edwards Papers in the Chicago Historical Society's Collection*, Vol. III, pp. 59–63.

Benjamin O'Fallon became Indian agent for Missouri Territory in 1815. During the year 1816–1817 he spent some time at Prairie du Chien. His headquarters were generally on the Missouri River, opposite what is now Council Bluffs. He retired in 1827.—*Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, p. 24.

⁷ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XIX, p. 314, footnote.

According to information from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Nicolas Boilvin's appointment as Indian agent was renewed on March 14, 1811, March 12, 1815, and April 22, 1818.

⁸ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, p. 248.

⁹ In 1819 Lewis Cass wrote to Boilvin, telling him that the Winnebagoes had recently been included in his superintendency and asking to which agency they should be attached. Evidently they were put in charge of the agent at Prairie du Chien for in 1822 Boilvin reported that they were hostile to the United States.—*Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, p. 248.

and for other expenses, between January and May, 1812, was only \$3,255.31; and in 1820 the disbursements reported by Boilvin amounted to only \$2,537.35.¹⁰

Since there was no fixed residence for the agent, Boilvin was frequently absent, either in the performance of his official duties or for personal reasons. During one absence John W. Johnson, United States factor at Prairie du Chien, acted as agent for several months. According to a letter written by him on April 19, 1820, he had just been informed of the killing of two soldiers at Fort Armstrong¹¹ by Winnebagoes. He also complained that J. H. Lockwood and J. Rolette were selling whiskey to the Indians.¹²

Some idea of the work of the Indian agents at this time, as well as some indication of their difficulties, may be gathered from the following letter written by Nicolas Boilvin to Lewis Cass, Governor of Michigan Territory, in 1823:

Prairie du Chien 3rd Jany. 1823

Sir — Your verry esteemed favor of 7th April and Sept. 14th. has been received, and note their contents. I have undertaken to prevent the Indians from this quarter to visit Drummond Island and it is with Satisfaction I have to Say none from this place have deviated from the advices given to them on this Subject and must Say that I, sincerely believe, British influence is done away with [for] the Indians residing in the vicinity of this place, as to the queries, or rather vocabulary that you make mention of, I have forwarded it last September by some officers of the United States Army my inexperience in the English Language prevents me to correspond as often as I consider it my duty. However during this long Winter I shall endeavor to procure a Copious vocabulary of the Winebago Tongue, thier Manners, Customs and Religious Ceremonies as well as relates to the Sioux, Sacs, and foxes.

Peace and Harmony now exists with the Indians, altho' large

¹⁰ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, pp. 32, 369.

¹¹ Fort Armstrong, built in 1816, was on Rock Island. The influence of the Prairie du Chien agent extended at least that far south.

¹² *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, p. 167.

war parties are on Contemplation between the Sacs and Foxes on one part and the Sioux's of the plains on the other part for Next Spring. Unless the Government thinks proper to interfere, I am afraid it will be Severe for those poor ignorant Savages — and no doubt some other tribes will engage — if so, this River will be the Theatre of warfare and no doubt that Commerce will be injured and Some poor innocent people the victim

I Shall do all in my power to obviate the evil as far as my means will go — but the Sum allowed for this Agency when So many Indians visit is not Sufficient. It even requires in Speaking to the Indians Tobacco, Powder etc and a few Blankets to Convey any weight with advice given them With the highest Respect I am Dear Sir Your Ob: Servant

N. BOILVIN¹³

Again, in December, 1824, Boilvin wrote from St. Louis to William Clark, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs to whom he was responsible, giving ill health as his reason for remaining away from his post. He gave a list of trading places: Trempealeau (which he preferred to the Sioux village on the Iowa River), the Falls in the Black River, and the Portage of the Wisconsin. He added that Colonel Morgan, who was acting for him at Prairie du Chien, had probably granted licenses for these places.¹⁴

Just how much authority or influence this French-Canadian agent exerted upon the Indians of the Iowa country it is difficult to determine. Like all early agents, his influence depended largely upon his personality, and, like the ripples around a stone thrown into a pool, went out from the center with ever diminishing force. The confidence of the government in Boilvin's honesty is in striking contrast to the sys-

¹³ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, pp. 298, 299.

The letters from Nicolas Boilvin in the Indian Office at Washington number only about thirteen. Mr. Cato Sells, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, states that only two of them, written in patois French, were the work of Boilvin himself. The others were merely signed by him.— Letter of Cato Sells to the writer, April 23, 1915.

¹⁴ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, pp. 365, 366.

tem of checking accounts later found necessary. For example, by an order of the Secretary of War in 1811, he was given the authority to expend, in the name of the government, whatever sums he considered necessary.¹⁵

His limitations, however, as well as his superior ability in managing Indians, were recognized by his superiors. As a result Lewis Cass wrote to John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, on July 9, 1822, suggesting that the military commander at Fort Crawford be instructed to report on the conduct of Joseph Rolette and concluded with the words: "Such an enquiry ought naturally perhaps to be made by Mr. Boilvin, the Agent, but you are doubtless aware, that his habits qualify him for managing the ordinary intercourse with the Indians rather than conducting an extra judicial examination."¹⁶

In the summer of 1827 Nicolas Boilvin died on a boat while descending the Mississippi River. The work of the agency was carried on during the remainder of the year by John Marsh, his sub-agent, who, on September 9, 1827, witnessed the articles of convention entered into by General Atkinson and the Indians. On September 28, 1827, General Atkinson reported that Marsh was in charge of the Prairie du Chien agency.¹⁷ When the new agent was appointed John Marsh remained as his assistant.

THE AGENCY ON ROCK ISLAND

In the meantime, a new agent had been assigned to Rock Island and the Indians of the surrounding region. This officer was Thomas Forsyth, who was appointed sub-agent

¹⁵ *The Edwards Papers in the Chicago Historical Society's Collection*, Vol. III, p. 138.

¹⁶ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, p. 265.

¹⁷ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XI, pp. 248, 249; *Senate Documents*, 1st Sess., 20th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 158, 160. Boilvin is described as "of common height, rather stocky, stooped and bow-legged".

in 1812 at a salary of \$600 a year and rations which increased the amount to about \$819.¹⁸ In 1819 he was made agent with a salary of \$1200 a year, and was stationed at Fort Armstrong in charge of the Sac and Fox Indians who lived chiefly on the east side of the Mississippi River. Here he remained until 1830, when he was replaced by Felix St. Vrain.¹⁹

Thomas Forsyth before his appointment had been a fur trader, like many of the Indian agents of this early period, and he thoroughly understood the Indian character. His policy in dealing with the natives was summed up in these words: "Give them what you promise, never threaten, punish first and threaten afterwards."²⁰ Although this policy seems rather severe, Forsyth appears to have been a conscientious officer and well liked by the Indians, who admired justice and firmness more than any other qualities.

The first years of Forsyth's service were chiefly occupied with the counteracting of British influence among the Indians to the east. British officers and traders were everywhere and for a time Americans were almost driven out of the country. When Congress, in 1816, passed the law excluding all alien traders from United States territory, American trade was resumed; and the duty of licensing traders and selecting trading centers became the chief duty of the Indian agent.

These trading stations were usually not permanent, but

¹⁸ *Letter Book of Thomas Forsyth* in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XI, p. 352. For a sketch of Forsyth's life see *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. VI, p. 188.

¹⁹ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, pp. 227, 228.

According to data received from the office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Forsyth was appointed sub-agent in 1811, and agent, on August 17, 1812. The date of his removal is given as June 30, 1830. See also *House Executive Documents*, 2nd Sess., 20th Congress, Vol. III, No. 117, p. 116.

²⁰ From a letter to Governor Ninian Edwards of Illinois.—*Letter Book of Thomas Forsyth* in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XI, p. 334.

were changed to suit the convenience of the traders and the Indians. Among those listed in 1824 were the Flint Hills, on the west bank of the Mississippi River where the city of Burlington now stands, and the Dirt Lodge, "high up the River de Moine."²¹ These were the centers at which the Sacs were to be supplied with goods. The Winnebagoes were to be supplied at "Rocky Island" and at a place fifty miles east of there; while the trading center for the Foxes was to be on Fever River. Traders were required to have the place at which they intended to do business specified in their licenses. Among the traders mentioned as engaged in the Indian trade in this vicinity were Russell Farnham at the Flint Hills, Maurice Blondeau at the Dirt Lodge, and George Davenport at Rock Island.²²

The lack of definite boundaries between the agencies led to disputes due to overlapping jurisdiction. On April 22, 1825, Forsyth wrote to General Clark to report that a certain Mr. Dubois, a clerk in the employ of Joseph Rolette, had been trading with the Indians between Dubuque's mines and Prairie du Chien under a license from the agent at that place. He declared that it was not just for other agents to permit men to trade at other places than those selected by him for the Indians under his charge, and concluded: "I have to hope, that the business of one agent giving Licences to people to Trade within the agency of another may be remedied."²³

²¹ Van der Zee's *Fur Trade Operations in the Eastern Iowa Country from 1800 to 1833* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XII, p. 542.

²² *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, pp. 363, 365, 366, 367.

²³ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, pp. 374, 375.

However, in September, 1825, Forsyth, himself, gave Etienne Dubois a year's license to trade at an island opposite the Little Maquoketa.—*Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, pp. 380, 381.

For a full discussion of the Indian trade in the Iowa country and the important relation of the Indian agents to it, see Van der Zee's *Fur Trade Oper-*

Naturally the authority of the few agents within the Mississippi Valley was far-reaching. In 1819 Thomas Forsyth made a journey up the Mississippi River to assist in the establishment of Fort Snelling, on the St. Peter's River. While on the way he noted the rich lead mines on both sides of the river. There was the usual business of settling murder cases — for the most part by means of presents — distributing annuities and presents, and pouring oil on the troubled waters by means of speeches. On this trip Forsyth carried about \$2000 worth of goods for the Sioux, and they appeared eager for whatever he might have for them.²⁴ Later the Indian agent at Fort Snelling, Lawrence Taliaferro, granted licenses to Joseph Montraville and Joseph Laframboise to trade with the Yankton Sioux at Fort Confederation on the second fork of the Des Moines River.²⁵

The usual difficulty in preventing the sale of liquor to the Indians was over-shadowed during the later period of Forsyth's administration by the question of adjusting the racial quarrels which were caused by the occupation of the Indians' lands along the banks of the Mississippi River by the white settlers. The magnitude and difficulty of this work is evident. In 1823 the agent persuaded part of the Sacs and Foxes under Keokuk to cross the river to the Iowa side, but the majority of the tribe under Black Hawk steadily refused to give up their lands, since they denied the validity of the treaty of 1804.²⁶

The mines at Dubuque, as well as those on the east bank of the Mississippi River, were coveted by the whites, even more than the farming land. A sub-agent, Wynkoop

ations in the Eastern Iowa Country from 1800 to 1833 in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XII, pp. 479-567.

²⁴ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. VI, pp. 188-219.

²⁵ *Senate Documents*, 2nd Sess., 19th Congress, No. 58, pp. 5, 6. This was within the present limits of Humboldt County, Iowa.

²⁶ Wilkie's *Davenport, Past and Present*, pp. 20, 21.

Warner, stated in a letter to Forsyth of June 3, 1830, that there were about one hundred men at work at Dubuque's mines, where they had no right to be; and he declared that if they did not leave when he ordered them to do so, he intended to call upon Colonel Zachary Taylor for assistance. Concerning this matter, Forsyth wrote to General Clark on June 14, 1830, and stated his attitude in the following words:

Permit me to observe to you, that the Sauk and Fox Indians are sufficiently soured against the whites, by their people having been killed going to Prairie du Chien last month, on an invitation of some of the Government agents. You must know what will be the consequence when they are informed that their mineral land is occupied by the whites, and permitted to remain. If drove off the Indians will then say, that the Government is friendly disposed towards them. This, in my opinion, is the moment for the Government of the United States to show their affection towards the Sauk and Fox Indians.²⁷

Forsyth's handling of the situation on the frontier was not satisfactory to the authorities at Washington. It was felt that he had exceeded his authority in making arrangements for the council at Prairie du Chien without orders from General Clark, especially when the result was disastrous, and he was arbitrarily dismissed. On June 21, 1830, William Clark wrote to Thomas McKenney, Superintendent of Indian Affairs: "I have just received your letter of the 7th instant, relating to the removal of Mr. Forsythe,

²⁷ *Senate Documents*, 1st Sess., 23rd Congress, Vol. VIII, No. 512, pp. 64, 65.

Wynkoop Warner, who was working with Agent Street at Prairie du Chien and Thomas Forsyth at Fort Armstrong, had reported on June 2, 1830, that a battle had been fought between the Menominees and the Sacs and Foxes. The Menominees and the Sioux, it was claimed, had influenced their agent to invite the Sacs and Foxes to a council and had then fallen upon the unsuspecting guests and killed almost all of them. To avenge this crime, a body of Sacs and Foxes crossed the river and massacred a number of their enemies almost under the walls of Fort Crawford.—*Senate Documents*, 1st Sess., 23rd Congress, Vol. VIII, No. 512, pp. 62, 63; Fulton's *Red Men of Iowa*, pp. 138, 139.

and the appointment of Mr. St. Vrain: Mr. Forsythe has just been notified of his removal." Forsyth had been very popular with the Indians and their dissatisfaction over the encroachments of the whites was augmented by the change. Black Hawk is reported to have said:

About this time our agent was put out of office, for what reason I could never ascertain. I thought it was for wanting to make us leave our village, and if so, it was right, because I was tired of hearing him talk about it. The interpreter, [Antoine Le Claire] who had been equally as bad in trying to persuade us to leave our village, was retained in office, and the young man who took the place of our agent, told the same old story over again about removing us. I was then satisfied that this could not have been the case.²⁸

Even after the appointment of the new agent, Thomas Forsyth did not cease to take an interest in Indian affairs. In 1832, shortly before his death, he wrote to Governor Cass, recommending that the Half-breed Tract be divided among the claimants and that a Catholic priest be employed to work among these people whose fathers were usually French Catholics.²⁹

The new agent, Felix St. Vrain, was the grandson of a French *émigré*. He appears to have been respected by both whites and Indians, although the short time during which he served as agent and the events leading up to the Black Hawk War prevented the usual agency work. Mr. St. Vrain was opposed to the use of force in removing the Indians,³⁰ but after the war began he naturally worked with the white

²⁸ *Senate Documents*, 1st Sess., 23rd Congress, Vol. VIII, No. 512, p. 71; Strong's *The Sauks and the Black Hawk War*, p. 239.

The sub-agent, Wynkoop Warner, was removed at about the same time for his part in inviting the Indians to Prairie du Chien.

²⁹ *Senate Documents*, 1st Sess., 23rd Congress, Vol. IX, No. 512, pp. 21, 22. Forsyth, at this time, had no official connection with Indian affairs.

Thomas Forsyth was born in Detroit in 1771 and died at St. Louis, Missouri, in 1833.—*Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, p. 227, Vol. VI, p. 188.

³⁰ *Governors' Letter Books, 1818-1834*, in the *Illinois Historical Society Collections*, Vol. IV, p. 178.

officers, thereby incurring the enmity of the Indians, although he still believed in their friendship. On May 23, 1832, he was sent by General Atkinson from Dixon's Ferry to Galena with dispatches for Fort Armstrong. On the following day he was met by a party of Indians and in spite of his appeals, he and three of his companions were killed. The body of St. Vrain was horribly mutilated and his heart was cut out and eaten by his blood-thirsty wards.³¹

An echo of this tragedy is to be found in a report of the Committee of Claims, submitted to Congress in April, 1844. From this report it appears that the United States government sued the sureties of St. Vrain in 1838 and obtained a verdict of \$1,428.38 to cover money unaccounted for by the unfortunate agent at the time of his death. The case was submitted to the Senate, the sureties arguing that St. Vrain had always been considered honest and that the vouchers for the sums unaccounted for had doubtless been in his saddle-bags at the time he was murdered and had been destroyed by the Indians. It was also shown that his salary as agent from January 1 to May 10, 1832, amounting to \$427.40, had not been paid. The committee, therefore, reported in favor of indemnifying the sureties of the agent.³²

The treaty at the close of the Black Hawk War shifted the work of the agent at Rock Island to the west of the Mississippi River, and at the same time the cession of the land

³¹ Stevens's *The Black Hawk War*, pp. 169-171. Felix de Hault de Lassus St. Vrain was born in St. Louis, Missouri, March 23, 1799, and was described as "tall and slightly built, with black eyes and black curling hair, worn rather long." St. Vrain was a brother-in-law of George W. Jones, and a nephew of Governor de Lassus of Louisiana under Spanish rule. See also Parish's *George Wallace Jones*, pp. 115-118. There is much dispute as to what Indians killed St. Vrain. One story is that he was killed by a party of Saes under a chief, The Little Bear, by whom the agent had been adopted as a brother. It is also stated on the authority of Black Hawk that the Indians were Winnebagoes.—Strong's *The Sauks and the Black Hawk War*, pp. 415, 416.

³² *Senate Documents*, 1st Sess., 29th Congress, Vol. IV, No. 56, p. 123.

west of the agency, isolated the agency from the Indians. It was no longer the center of the Indian population and white settlers began to occupy the land between the Indian country and the agency.

After the death of Felix St. Vrain the duties of the agent at Rock Island were performed by Joshua Pilcher, until the new agent, Marmaduke S. Davenport, was appointed to that position late in the year 1832.³³ Davenport began his work on January 1, 1833, and almost immediately trouble arose over the payment of annuities. Joshua Pilcher accused the new agent of having paid \$6000 of the Indian annuities directly to George Davenport and Russell Farnham, traders to whom the Sac and Fox Indians owed money. Marmaduke S. Davenport admitted that he had paid the money to the traders, but insisted that he had done so only in accordance with the wishes of the Indians themselves. Elbert Herring, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, refused to consider this excuse and on February 19, 1833, he wrote to the agent as follows: "The order heretofore given you must be complied with; and you will be pleased to remember, that your official conduct must in future be governed by instructions from the department, and not by the importunities of your friends. If traders see fit to trust the Indians, they must look to them alone for payment."

Not only was the agent not to dispose of annuities, but

³³ *House Executive Documents*, 1st Sess., 23rd Congress, Vol. VI, No. 490, p. 69.

According to information from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Davenport served as agent from June 7, 1830, to 1831, and was reappointed agent on July 10, 1832. He took charge of the agency at Rock Island on December 31, 1832.

In addition to Marmaduke S. Davenport who served as agent, Colonel William Davenport was in command of the fort on Rock Island. George Davenport, the trader, was a well known character in that vicinity, but the similarity of names was merely a coincidence for there is no evidence of any relationship.—Waterman's *History of Wapello County*, Vol. I, p. 24.

the right of the chiefs to do so was also denied.³⁴ In another letter, Herring wrote: "There is no part of the agent's duty, about which the President and the department are more tenacious, than the observance of this rule in the distribution of Indian annuities." Davenport was ordered to get back the money and reserve it for the Indians. "As the agent of the Government", he was also informed, "it will be your duty to investigate all claims or accounts presented against the Indians, to prevent their paying more than fair and reasonable prices for articles which have been furnished to them."³⁵

There could be no doubt as to the attitude of the Department concerning annuities; and on April 12, 1833, Agent Davenport wrote that he had secured the money which he had paid to George Davenport and Farnham, and was ready to pay the Indians whenever they arrived. On June 20, 1833, he reported to Elbert Herring that the Sac and Fox annuities for 1832 had been distributed to the Indians in the presence of the officers at Fort Armstrong.³⁶

Another point of disagreement was over the question of paying the entire annuities to the chiefs or of distributing them to individual Indians. Davenport strongly favored the former plan, for he believed that it "would give to the chiefs more power and influence; make them more respected, and render their people much more tractable, obedient, and respectful." In support of his opinion he quoted the words of Keokuk: "My father, there is but a small portion

³⁴ *Senate Documents*, 1st Sess., 23rd Congress, Vol. IX, No. 512, pp. 598, 599.

³⁵ *Senate Documents*, 1st Sess., 23rd Congress, Vol. X, No. 512, pp. 110, 111; Vol. VIII, No. 512, p. 967.

³⁶ *Senate Documents*, 1st Sess., 23rd Congress, Vol. X, No. 512, pp. 176, 441, 442.

This difficulty and similar ones led the Department to issue a general order to Indian agents on April 22, 1833, forbidding speculation in Indian annuity certificates and the payment of annuities to anyone except the Indians entitled to them.— *Senate Documents*, 1st Sess., 23rd Congress, Vol. IX, No. 512, p. 673.

of these annuities coming to each of us; and this mode of distributing it *individually* would ruin my people, as there are many among them who would take their money and buy *whiskey*, instead of such articles of necessity as they would otherwise receive."³⁷ This question, however, was not settled until much later.

The account rendered by M. S. Davenport for the nine months from January 1 to September 30, 1833, contained the following items which give some idea of the work of the agent:

Salary of agent	\$900.00
Salary of Antoine Le Claire, interpreter	300.00
Cost of publication of notice concerning intruders at Dubuque's Mines in Galenian	8.00
Wm. B. Green, express	15.00
S. Phelps & Co. presents	11.02
Robert Payne, stationery	16.44
Robert Payne, presents	200.00
John Steele, blank licenses	3.00
Richard Harrison, guard for Sac murders of Mr. Martin	15.00
Transportation of presents from St. Louis to Rock Island	4.10
Farnham & Davenport, presents and provisions	50.87
S. Phelps & Co., provisions	11.00
M. S. Davenport, expenses	160.25
George Davenport, provisions	62.00
Richard Harrison, hauling corn	53.54
M. S. Davenport, traveling expenses, in search of murderers of Mr. Martin	54.50
Antoine Le Claire, traveling expenses, in search of murderers of Mr. Martin	58.00
R. I. Post Office, postage	2.37
Joshua Vandruff, iron, hay, etc.	40.00
Robert Payne, iron, files, etc	84.26

³⁷ In a letter of June 20, 1833.— *Senate Documents*, 1st Sess., 23rd Congress, Vol. X, No. 512, pp. 442, 443.

Louis Lepage, blacksmith, six months	200.00
Benjamin McCann, striker, nine months	150.00
J. B. Labeau, gunsmith, nine months	300.00
Lambert Lapierre, blacksmith, July 12–Sept. 30, 1833	86.40
Farnham and Davenport, corn	17.50
Robert Payne, goods	907.04
Robert Payne, drayage	27.00
“Warrior” (steamboat), transporting annuities	166.79
M. S. Davenport, traveling expenses	15.00
Antoine Le Claire, traveling expenses	15.00
Sacs and Foxes, annuities	7800.00
Sacs and Foxes, annuities	28000.00
	<hr/>
	\$39,734.08 ³⁸

This sum Mr. Davenport paid out of the \$41,399.23 turned over to him by Joshua Pilcher.

Occasionally the agent visited the Indian villages at the Des Moines Rapids. On one such visit he reported that he had received from Chief Keokuk four Indians who were given up by the tribe for the murder of a white man named Martin.³⁹

On the whole, however, the whites gave the agent more trouble than did the Indians. Men interested in the rich lead mines rushed into the Indian country without legal authority. In December, 1832, Agent Davenport reported that all these intruders at Dubuque's mines — about one hundred and fifty in number — had removed at his orders, although they had petitioned the general government to be allowed to remain. He also expressed much sympathy with the settlers, many of whom had large families and no money. The miners who had insisted on working the lead mines at Dubuque even before their cession by the Indians, rushed

³⁸ *House Executive Documents*, 1st Sess., 23rd Congress, Vol. VI, No. 490, pp. 68, 69, 70.

³⁹ *Senate Documents*, 1st Sess., 23rd Congress, Vol. X, No. 512, p. 176.

back as soon as the war was over, although no arrangement had been made for opening the land to settlement. Davenport reported on February 22, 1833, that his representative, S. D. Carpenter, had found that from eighty to one hundred persons had gone over to Dubuque's mines, and were there engaged in mining and smelting. The agent further expressed the opinion that "Without a small military force is established at those mines, it will be impossible to keep persons from intruding upon them."⁴⁰

THE PRAIRIE DU CHIEN AGENCY

About this time a sweeping reorganization of the Indian Department took place. By an act of Congress passed in 1834, the Rock Island Agency was transferred to Green Bay and the Prairie du Chien agent was to reside at Rock Island until December 31, 1836, when the agency at that point was to be discontinued. No provision, however, was made for the location of the Sac and Fox Agency after this date. The Prairie du Chien Agency included all the Indian country west of the Fox-Wisconsin portage, south of the Michilimackinac and St. Peter's agencies, and west as far as the country of the Winnebagoes extended. For the time being the duties of the agent at Prairie du Chien were to be performed by the commander of Fort Crawford.⁴¹

The agent at Prairie du Chien at the time of this reorganization of the Indian service was Joseph Montfort Street,⁴² who was first appointed Indian agent at that place in 1827. His salary at first was \$1200, but after he was transferred to Rock Island in 1834 it was raised to \$1500. Although

⁴⁰ *Senate Documents*, 1st Sess., 23rd Congress, Vol. IX, No. 512, p. 561; Vol. X, No. 512, pp. 110, 111.

⁴¹ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. IV, ch. 162, p. 736; *Senate Documents*, 2nd Sess., 23rd Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 258, 259, 260.

⁴² For a biography of Joseph M. Street see *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. II, pp. 81-105; *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XI, pp. 356, 357.

Street owed his appointment in the beginning to the political influence of Henry Clay, he was a brave and intelligent public officer, and remained in the service under various Presidents.

At the time of his arrival the Winnebagoes were bitterly hostile to the whites because of the operation of the lead mines on their lands, and the "Winnebago War" was in progress. The temporary peace which followed this war led to new settlements on Indian lands and increased the difficulties of the Indian agent. Henry Dodge with about one hundred other miners settled in southwestern Wisconsin on the land reserved to the Indians; and when Street sent his sub-agent, John Marsh, to order them off, he received the answer that General Dodge would remove as soon as he could conveniently do so. Dodge remained, however, until the land was ceded to the United States by the Winnebagoes in the treaty of August 1, 1829.⁴³

Another difficulty which confronted the new agent was the enmity existing between the various tribes of Indians attached to the agency or living in the surrounding country. In 1829 a quarrel developed between the Menominees who belonged to the Prairie du Chien Agency and the Foxes, who lived on the west side of the Mississippi River to the south. Sub-agent Wynkoop Warner of Galena attempted to secure peace by inviting the Foxes to a council at Prairie du Chien. This invitation he had no legal authority to issue, for he was a sub-agent of the Prairie du Chien Agency, while the Fox Indians were included in the Rock Island Agency. After delivering the invitation, however, Warner started for Prairie du Chien ahead of the Indians and was warned by Agent Street that the meeting would be dangerous to the Foxes, because some hostile Menominees were at Prairie du Chien.

⁴³ Pelzer's *Henry Dodge*, pp. 32-34.

For some reason, in spite of this warning, the sub-agent failed to report this fact to the Foxes and the result was a massacre of the most important men of the Foxes by a party of Menominees. As might have been expected, the Sacs and Foxes retaliated by killing a number of Menominees, almost under the walls of Fort Crawford, in the summer of 1831. According to the law governing the Indian service at this time, the agent was not given any authority to punish Indians for crimes against other Indians, so nothing could be done except to patch up a truce between the tribes.⁴⁴ The approaching conflict between the Indians and the white settlers who had reached the Mississippi River failed to unite the hostile tribes. John Marsh wrote to Agent Street on April 28, 1832, that the Sioux of Wabasha's band were making war on the Chippewas, and this report was confirmed on August 3, 1832, by a letter from a scout, Alexis Bailly. A little later, on August 21, 1832, Street wrote to these Indians asking them to bring in their prisoners for whom he offered a ransom.⁴⁵

When the Black Hawk War broke out the civil authority of the agent was naturally overshadowed by the military. Street's position was, nevertheless, one of great importance. It was his duty to keep the Indians of his agency friendly to the whites, or at least neutral, and to assist the military officers. A statement on June 7, 1832, certified that he had purchased from the American Fur Company rifles and guns amounting to \$1032.⁴⁶ These were apparently used to arm a company of friendly Indians under William S. Hamilton. At the close of the War, the party of Winnebagoes to whom Black Hawk and the Prophet had surren-

⁴⁴ Van der Zee's *Fur Trade Operations in the Eastern Iowa Country from 1800 to 1833*, in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XII, pp. 560-562.

⁴⁵ *Street Papers*, Historical Department, Des Moines, Iowa.

⁴⁶ *Street Papers*, Historical Department, Des Moines, Iowa.

dered themselves, brought their prisoners to Joseph M. Street, who delivered them to Colonel Zachary Taylor in command of Fort Crawford.⁴⁷ Later, General Atkinson wrote to Street to send a man named Carramain to Dixon's Ferry to receive the twenty horses left there as a reward for the capture of Black Hawk and the Prophet.⁴⁸

The regulation of the Indian trade was also a duty which involved innumerable difficulties. Many of the Indian agents had been traders before their appointment and sympathized with the traders. Street had had no such experiences and the traders bitterly opposed every attempt he made to enforce the government regulations. The enforcement of the anti-liquor law made the agent unpopular both with the traders and the Indians, while its non-enforcement resulted in cheating, degradation, and often in murder. Among the enemies of the agent at this period were Joseph Rolette and H. L. Dousman. Something of the attitude of the traders toward the government officials may be seen from the following incidents. John Marsh, Street's sub-agent, wrote to him on April 28, 1832, concerning the Indians of Wabasha's band of Sioux and declared: "One of Rolette's boats passed up the river three or four days since with *Eighteen barrels of whiskey*—this seems a little extraordinary especially at this season when the trade is entirely finished". Later in the summer, Alexis Bailly wrote to Street:

⁴⁷ Strong's *The Sauks and the Black Hawk War*, pp. 477-479; *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. II, pp. 89-93.

William S. Hamilton was a son of Alexander Hamilton.

Reuben G. Thwaites asserts that it was Joseph M. Street who sent Lieutenant Ritner to intercept the non-combatants of Black Hawk's band who were trying to cross the river below Prairie du Chien.—*Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XII, pp. 254, 255.

⁴⁸ *Street Papers*, Historical Department, Des Moines, Iowa.

This Carramain, mentioned in General Atkinson's letter of September 2, 1832, was a Winnebago chief. The name was usually written Carramanee.—*Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. II, p. 96.

There has been some consternation among those natives who have not yet joined the temperance Societies, it was caused by the seizure of some whiskey in Messrs Moreaus & Leblanc's Boat, it has completely prostrated all their hopes of drunken frolics and they cannot be made to comprehend that it's all for their benefit. How friend Rolette will relish the seizure of his whiskey & the detention of one of his Boats in no very favorable weather uncovered is more than I can properly tell but I may safely augur from a knowledge of the good feeling I know he bears to all military folks that Mr. Burnett may safely prepare himself for Law.⁴⁹

Indian agents and military officers not infrequently found themselves involved in expensive litigation by their attempts to enforce the indefinite regulations of the Department. For example, the traders claimed that the Mississippi River and the islands in it were not Indian country and that the Indian agents had no authority over it. On October 4, 1832, Street wrote to Lewis Cass, asking that he be reimbursed the sum of \$800 and costs which he had been compelled by a court to pay for timber seized on an island where the agent believed it was unlawful for white men to cut timber.⁵⁰ This was probably Street's share in the case reported on by the Committee of Claims, from which it appears that Jean Brunett had started secretly with a party of men to cut timber on Indian land, and at the request of Joseph M. Street had been arrested by Stephen W. Kearny. Brunett, although a foreigner, obtained a verdict of \$1200 damages and costs amounting in all to \$1,373.56 $\frac{1}{4}$, in a United States Circuit Court for the counties of Crawford and Iowa, Michigan Territory. Although the claim was

⁴⁹ Letter of Bailly to Street, August 3, 1832, in the *Street Papers*, Historical Department, Des Moines, Iowa.

Lawrence Taliaferro, the agent at St. Peter's and a relative of Joseph M. Street, declared that Rolette was an habitual liar.

The Burnett mentioned by Bailly was T. B. Burnett, a sub-agent under Street, appointed October 15, 1829.

⁵⁰ Letter of Street to Lewis Cass, October 4, 1832, in the *Street Papers*, Historical Department, Des Moines, Iowa.

frequently made that the Indian agent had no legal authority on the Mississippi, this case was decided on the ground that the power to remove intruders from the Indian country was vested in the President and could be exercised by agents and military officers only when officially delegated to them by him. The attitude of the frontier courts towards the attempts to enforce the laws for the protection of the Indians, and the handicaps under which the agents worked are evident from this decision, for it was not argued that Brunett was innocent. The Committee of Claims, however, deciding that the officers had acted in good faith, recommended that Congress should appropriate money to pay the costs of the suit.⁵¹

In general, it may be said that the traders opposed the civilization of the Indians or their removal because of the possible loss to the trade. The only argument in favor of removal in the eyes of the traders was the possibility of increased annuities, which would fall into their hands. An example of their opposition to the agent and the means employed to make it effective is to be found in a letter from Joseph Rolette to G. B. Porter, Governor of Michigan Territory, on December 6, 1832. Street had advised the removal of the Indians from the vicinity of Fort Winnebago to the country west of the Mississippi because he believed they would advance in civilization more rapidly if removed from association with the whites. Rolette preferred to have them remain in the fur-producing locality and insinuated that Street had personal reasons for wishing the change. "But, I have to remark," he wrote, "Gen. Street's son is a trader at this place, and has the store in the agency house. Rumor says father, son, and the sub-agent are all concerned. What motives can a man have in wishing himself additional trouble for the same pay? He certainly must

⁵¹ *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, Vol. V, pp. 9, 10.

wish to have them removed west of this to have payment of the whole annuities, and by that favor his son's trade, or their own, if the report is correct."

In addition to this charge Rolette asserted that the blacksmith paid by the annuity money was working three-fourths of the time for citizens.⁵² This charge concerning the blacksmith was repeated in 1835 by H. L. Dousman, a member of the American Fur Company, who wrote to Elbert Herring, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, that the Indian blacksmith at Prairie du Chien was permitted to do private work and was at that time building the schoolhouse on Yellow River. His son was also paid as a striker, but did little work. As a result, declared Dousman, the American Fur Company was obliged to do blacksmith work for the Indians.⁵³

On the other hand, Street insisted that it was the fur traders who were selfish in preferring trade to the well-being of the Indians. He asserted that the interpreter at Fort Winnebago was in their pay and the sub-agent there, John Kinzie, reported to the officers of the American Fur Company instead of to him. Street advocated the payment of the larger part of the Winnebago annuities at Prairie du Chien or west of the Mississippi River, in order to attract the Indians in that direction. A letter, dated April 2, 1833, had already been received from the Department, directing that an Indian school should be erected west of the river. It was a mistake, Street maintained, to distribute at Fort Winnebago the larger part of the 60,000 rations furnished the Winnebagoes, as Superintendent Clark had ordered.⁵⁴

In the end, however, a treaty was made with the Winne-

⁵² *Senate Documents*, 1st Sess., 23rd Congress, Vol. X, No. 512, p. 95.

⁵³ Letter of Dousman to Herring, March 26, 1835, in the *Street Papers*, Historical Department, Des Moines, Iowa.

⁵⁴ *Senate Documents*, 1st Sess., 23rd Congress, Vol. X, No. 512, pp. 475, 478.

bagoes by which they promised to move to the Neutral Ground in the Iowa country.⁵⁵ In 1833 Agent Street wrote to William Clark describing the new location of his wards, the Winnebagoes, in what is now northeastern Iowa. It was a fertile country, well watered, and with fine mill streams. At that time, game was plenty. The Winnebagoes moved reluctantly, but finally a part of the tribe established themselves at an old Sac village on the Turkey River, about twenty-five or thirty miles west of Prairie du Chien. A site for the school had been selected about ten miles west of Fort Crawford on the dividing ridge between the Yellow and Gerrard's rivers.⁵⁶

The report of the Prairie du Chien agency for the period from October 1, 1832, to September 30, 1833, illustrates the items of expenditure in an agency where no educational or industrial work was attempted. The chief items were as follows:

J. M. Street, agent	\$1,200
Thomas B. Burnett, sub-agent	500
“ “ “ counsel and attorney's fees	500
Amable Grignon, interpreter	400
John Dowling, rent for agency building	400
Winnebago annuities for 1832	3,000
Winnebago annuities for 1833	4,500
The total expenditure was \$13,785.38 ⁵⁷	

⁵⁵ The treaty of September 15, 1832.—Kappler's *Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, pp. 345-348.

⁵⁶ *Senate Documents*, 1st Sess., 23rd Congress, Vol. X, No. 512, pp. 651-653.

The school had been provided for by the treaty of 1832. It was to be maintained for twenty-seven years, but was not to cost more than \$3000 per annum. Inspections were to be made by the Governor of Illinois, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, the Winnebago Indian agent, any officer of the United States army above the rank of major, and by the commanding officer at Fort Crawford.—Kappler's *Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, p. 346.

⁵⁷ *Executive Documents*, 1st Sess., 23rd Congress, Vol. VI, No. 490, pp. 142, 143.

THE AGENCY OF THE SACS AND FOXES

The revolution in the Indian Department, following the reorganization law of 1834, affected the position of Joseph M. Street as it did that of Marmaduke S. Davenport, and he was ordered to Fort Armstrong as the agent of the Sacs and Foxes. In August of 1834, he paid the Sac and Fox Indians their annuities in bank notes at Rock Island and reported that they appeared grateful to him and to P. Chouteau, the trader, who had given them credit.

The change was not at all pleasing to Mr. Street. He had just completed a two-story stone house for the Indian school, and \$2,500 had recently been appropriated for the purchase of an agent's house. In a letter to Lewis Cass, the Governor of Michigan Territory, written on September 12, 1834, he protested against his transfer to Rock Island. He urged that his acquaintance with the Winnebagoes made him more valuable among them. Besides, there were no Sacs and Foxes within one hundred and fifty miles of Rock Island. Furthermore, there were no schools nor churches at the latter place and Street had a family of children to educate. Finally, there were no agency buildings at Rock Island fit for occupation.

Agent Street also appealed to friends at Washington to use their influence to have him returned to Prairie du Chien, but protests and influence were unavailing. Possibly the Department had sufficient reason for the transfer, but none was given, and on March 5, 1835, Street received a letter from Elbert Herring, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, which reads as follows:

You have been appointed by the President and Senate, Agent for the Indian tribes attached to the Prairie du Chien Agency. I enclose a bond, which you will please to execute in the penal sum of Two thousand dollars. The sufficiency of the sureties must be attested by the District Judge or District Attorney. When it is re-

turned to the office your Commission will be forwarded. In conformity with the instructions of 28th of October last, you will deliver all the public property of every description at Prairie du Chien to the Commanding Officer at Fort Crawford, on the first day of April next, and repair to Rock Island, which has been selected as the site of your agency.⁵⁸

The period between 1834 and 1838 was one of uncertainty. Part of the time Street's family lived at Prairie du Chien and part of the time on Rock Island, where the military buildings of Fort Armstrong were turned over to the agent in 1836. At the time of this order, Street was informed by Commissioner Herring that he would not be returned to Prairie du Chien, but in spite of this statement the agent and his friends persisted in their efforts to secure his return.⁵⁹

In 1837, Thomas P. Street, a son of the agent, who lived at Prairie du Chien, wrote to his father giving an account of a visit of Governor Henry Dodge to the Winnebago school on the Yellow River. The younger Street declared that Governor Dodge, who was Superintendent of Indian Affairs, had promised that Joseph M. Street might have his choice of the Sac and Fox or the Prairie du Chien agencies.⁶⁰

In the meantime the business of the agency had been carried on as usual, although the distance of the Indians from Rock Island made the work difficult. In 1837 Agent Street conducted a party of about thirty Sac and Fox Indians, in-

⁵⁸ *Street Papers*, Historical Department, Des Moines, Iowa.

It is difficult to explain why Rock Island was selected as the site of the Prairie du Chien agency. Street apparently retained supervisory authority over the Winnebagoes until 1838, when he gave up hope of being returned to Prairie du Chien.

⁵⁹ Letter of Herring to Street, April 12, 1836, in the *Street Papers*, Historical Department, Des Moines, Iowa.

⁶⁰ Letter of Thomas P. Street, February 16, 1837, in the *Street Papers*, Historical Department, Des Moines, Iowa.

cluding Black Hawk, Wapello and his wife and son, to Washington, D. C., and other eastern cities. Among the attractions of the trip were visits to such places as Faneuil Hall, a military parade, and a reception by Governor Edward Everett of Massachusetts. Mr. Street who was a strict Presbyterian was unwilling to attend the theater, so John Beach, his son-in-law, accompanied the Indians to the Tremont to see Forrest, the noted actor.⁶¹ It was during this visit to Washington that the chiefs made the treaty of October 21, 1837, by which additional land in Iowa was ceded to the United States—the first treaty with these Indians in which it was stipulated that interest on a certain sum should be paid to them, as annuities, instead of the principal in installments. The country remaining to the natives after this treaty was an irregular rectangle about one hundred and forty miles each way. The northern line was the longest, the southern the shortest. The eastern boundary, which was not in fact a straight line, but two lines forming an obtuse angle, was some one hundred and fifty miles long.⁶²

Governor Dodge's promise that Street might choose between Rock Island and Prairie du Chien was apparently not considered by the authorities at Washington, for on March 10, 1838, Carey A. Harris, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, sent the following instructions to Street:

The treaty with the Sacs and Foxes of October 21, 1837, having been ratified, you will proceed without delay to select sites for the Agency house, and appurtenant buildings, which shall be at least 10 miles from the exterior line of the late cession. Having done this, you will make contracts for the erection of all the buildings, not exceeding your estimate of \$3500, and at as much lower rates as will be consistent with a judicious economy; and you will bear in

⁶¹ Waterman's *History of Wapello County, Iowa*, Vol. I, pp. 24, 25.

⁶² Kappler's *Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, p. 495; *Senate Documents*, 3rd Sess., 25th Congress, Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 490-494.

mind the fact, that these must be temporary establishments upon which no avoidable expenditures should be made. Every circumstance indicates, that the Indians cannot remain in their present country with comfort or propriety, after the settlement of the whites shall have multiplied around them.⁶³

These instructions were later modified by the requirement that the agency should be located on a navigable stream.

The change was acceptable to the agent who, as early as 1836, had advocated the removal of the Sac and Fox Agency to some point on the Des Moines River near the Indian boundary line, fifty or sixty miles from Fort Des Moines and near the proposed military road to Fort Leavenworth.⁶⁴ Rock Island was out of the question as a site for the agency, for the Indians were entirely separated from it by settled lands.

Early in the spring of 1838 Agent Street, accompanied by Poweshiek and a party of Indians, selected a site for the new Sac and Fox Agency on the Des Moines River near what is now Agency, Iowa. A council house, agent's dwelling house, shops, and other necessary buildings were soon erected by a contractor from Clarksville, Missouri. A farm was begun under the direction of Richard Kerr, who came out as farmer at a salary of fifty dollars a month; and by April, 1839, Mr. Street moved his family from Prairie du Chien to the new agency.⁶⁵ The home of the agent was a two-story frame building and grouped about it were the

⁶³ Letter of Harris to Street, March 10, 1838, in the *Street Papers*, Historical Department, Des Moines, Iowa.

⁶⁴ Letter of Street to G. W. Jones, January 25, 1836, in the *Street Papers*, Historical Department, Des Moines, Iowa.

Street at this time was visiting at Prairie du Chien. He congratulated Jones on his election as Territorial Delegate in spite of the opposition of Rolette, Dousman, and Lockwood, the traders who were also bitterly hostile to Street.

⁶⁵ Fulton's *The Red Men of Iowa*, pp. 349, 350.

homes of the agency employees.⁶⁶ Two mills were also built in accordance with the provision of the treaty of 1837: one on Soap Creek, across the Des Moines River and about seven miles from the agency; and another on Sugar Creek between the present sites of Ottumwa and Agency. The latter was built by the agent at the request of Appanoose who lived in that vicinity, but it proved a bad investment because of lack of water.⁶⁷

The establishment of the new agency coincided with the organization of the Territory of Iowa and henceforth the Sac and Fox agent was subordinate to the Governor of the Territory of Iowa, who was ex officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs for that Territory.

According to Street's estimate in 1839, the Indians under his charge numbered about 4546.⁶⁸ They were divided into five bands: three under Appanoose, Wapello, and Keokuk on the Des Moines River; a division of Wapello's band on the Skunk River; and Poweshiek's band one hundred miles away on the Iowa River. It was planned that each group was to have a farm, and a contract was let for breaking and fencing 1439 acres of prairie; 640 acres on the Iowa River, and 799 acres on the Des Moines. Two hundred acres had

⁶⁶ Waterman's *History of Wapello County, Iowa*, Vol. I, pp. 29, 30.

The first employees were Richard Kerr, the farmer; Josiah Smart, interpreter; Charles Withington, blacksmith; and Harry Sturdevant, gunsmith. Additional laborers were often employed.

⁶⁷ *House Executive Documents*, 1st Sess., 26th Congress, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 498-500.

⁶⁸ *Senate Documents*, 3rd Sess., 25th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 490-494.

This included 1300 Sacs under Appanoose, 800 members of the same tribe under Keokuk, and 2446 Foxes under Wapello and Poweshiek. The number was probably too large.

In 1840 John Beach reported between 3800 and 4200 Indians. A census of the Sacs and Foxes, completed on September 19, 1842, gave the number as 2348. The decrease was partly due to the more careful enumeration, although dissipation and hardship were undoubtedly diminishing the membership of the tribe.—*Senate Documents*, 2nd Sess., 26th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 328; *Senate Documents*, 3rd Sess., 27th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 423-427.

already been broken for the Sacs and 250 for the Foxes, upon which they raised considerable corn.⁶⁹ Nevertheless, Agent Street was much discouraged. Whiskey was brought to the Indians and white men settled on the Indian lands, either ignorantly or intentionally. The results were always disastrous to the Indians. One settler, Reason Jordan, had built a house on the reservation and refused to remove. He had, furthermore, taken a cow which the agent had given to Black Hawk and had later seized a yoke of oxen belonging to Keokuk. These animals, he declared, he intended to kill and eat in order to cancel a debt which the Indians owed him. The agent appeared to be helpless. There was no civil authority to support him and no military force near at hand. On September 14, 1839, Street wrote to Governor Lucas of Iowa Territory of this difficulty. "It is in vain", he said, "that authority is given me to forcibly act in case of the introduction of intoxicating liquors, or with respect to the being or residing in the Indian country, for without *force* to call to my aid I am less able than an ordinary man, within a State or Territory, to do anything."⁷⁰

At the payment of the annuities in 1839 Mr. Street reported that one hundred white men crowded the Indians out of the council house, and when ordered out they pulled the chinking from between the logs and watched the distribution of the money they hoped soon to secure. The Indians immediately turned over to the traders \$12,000 in payment of debts and the Foxes gave them \$3000 more to pay some absent creditors. It was no wonder that Street wrote to the Department: "I have, under the instructions of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, located their agency among them within their own country, and within an hour's ride of their principal town, [but] I have little hope that any good

⁶⁹ *Senate Documents*, 3rd Sess., 25th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 490-494.

⁷⁰ *Senate Documents*, 1st Sess., 26th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 499.

can be done the Indians, unless some more efficient plan can be adopted to exclude whiskey and the white people from the Indian country."⁷¹

On the other hand, the fur traders disliked Street and attempted to drive him from office. He was charged with favoritism to certain traders and with failing to account for public funds. On October 17, 1839, E. A. Hitchcock wrote to Street commenting on the charges that the agent had embezzled one hundred dollars of Sac and Fox funds, and in addition had acted dishonestly in connection with the Half-breed Tract. He declared, however, that Secretary Crawford did not believe the charge and added: "The only wonder expressed in regard to the business has been, that you had the courage to brave a parcel of sharpers who 'as a matter of course' would attack you." The most specific charge against Street was that he had given the annuity money to the agent of the American Fur Company instead of to the Indians, thus leaving the other creditors without a proportionate share of the payment.⁷²

In answer to these charges Street secured letters from various people who had been present at the distribution of annuities in 1838 and 1839. Among these was William Phelps, the representative of the American Fur Company, who wrote a public letter to Street on January 20, 1840, giving a detailed account of the annuity distribution as he saw it. The annuities for 1838, Phelps declared, had been in the hands of Dr. Reynolds, the military disbursing agent — and had been given by him to the chiefs. A large sum was immediately paid by them to the agent of the American Fur Company. The Indians then asked Street to assist them in settling their other debts and this the agent and

⁷¹ *Senate Documents*, 3rd Sess., 25th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 490-494.

⁷² Letter of E. A. Hitchcock to Street, October 17, 1839, in the *Street Papers*, Historical Department, Des Moines, Iowa.

Dr. Reynolds tried to do. In 1839 the office of military disbursing agent had been discontinued and the regular agent gave the annuity money to the chiefs, who again paid the American Fur Company before paying the other creditors. Street was not a party to this transaction, but, on the contrary, had urged the Indians to pay all their creditors equally. These statements were corroborated by William B. Street, a son of the agent, and by Josiah Smart, the interpreter, who declared that Joseph M. Street was ignorant of the intentions of the chiefs to favor the American Fur Company.⁷³

Agent Street, himself, also denied any knowledge of an agreement between the agent of the American Fur Company and the Indians but added: "I did not consider it a part of my duty to compel the Inds. or the Company or any Individual to submit their private affairs to my investigation unless there was some violation of law & propriety." Whatever the basis of the charges, Street's superiors evidently did not consider them as well founded. Governor Lucas wrote on February 18, 1840: "In justice to Gen'l Street I will state that as far as I have had any intercourse with him

⁷³ Letter of William Phelps to J. M. Street, January 20, 1840, in the *Letters from the Correspondence of Robert Lucas, John Chambers, and James Clark, Territorial Governors and Superintendents of Indian Affairs for the Territory of Iowa, 1833-1846*, Vol. I, Historical Department, Des Moines, Iowa.

Josiah Smart, furthermore, declared that Street was always careful in the management of public funds, and that he had reduced a bill of Smart's for breaking land before he became interpreter, because he believed the \$800 charged was too much for the work performed.

This interpreter, Josiah Smart, was a romantic pioneer character. Though a man of considerable ability and education, he had married an Indian woman and when among the Indians adopted their dress. Just before the outbreak of the Black Hawk War he had made a visit to Keokuk's village on the Iowa River, disguised as a Sac brave and narrowly escaped death at the hands of Black Hawk and his followers.—Strong's *The Sauks and the Black Hawk War*, pp. 235, 236, 238; *The Sac and Fox Indians and the Treaty of 1842*, in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. X, p. 265.

he has manifested a deep interest for the welfare of the Inds. under his charge".⁷⁴

While it is, of course, possible that Joseph M. Street was really unfair and dishonest, his enemies have apparently failed to leave proof of any specific offenses, and the reputation of most of the traders of that period is hardly sufficient to convict a man on their unsupported charges. They succeeded, however, in annoying and humiliating the agent and in arousing insubordination against him among his subordinates. One of his interpreters, Josiah Smart, was loyal throughout, but the other, John Goodell, was opposed to him.

Before the charges against Street had been completely refuted, he died at the agency house on May 5, 1840. His son-in-law, John Beach, was appointed agent in his place, and immediately took up the work of the agency. Amid the mourning Indians, Joseph M. Street was buried at the agency. By his side, two years later, the Indian chief Wapello was buried, at his own request, in order that he might be near his "white father".⁷⁵

The new agent, Lieutenant John Beach, was a graduate of West Point and in character and ability a worthy successor of Joseph M. Street. When he reached the agency in the summer of 1840 he found about 2300⁷⁶ Indians on the reservation. They were divided into six villages, over

⁷⁴ Letter of J. M. Street, February 6, 1840, in the *Letters from the Correspondence of Robert Lucas, John Chambers, and James Clark, Territorial Governors and Superintendents of Indian Affairs for the Territory of Iowa, 1833-1846*, Vol. I, Historical Department, Des Moines, Iowa.

⁷⁵ Letter of Thos. P. Street to Wm. Street, March 24, 1840, in the *Street Papers*, Historical Department, Des Moines, Iowa.

These men were Joseph M. Street's sons. John Goodell had been nominated by Governor Lucas on January 27, 1840. Even before the elder Street's death, his family had asked that Beach or one of the sons be appointed temporary agent during Mr. Street's illness.

⁷⁶ *Senate Documents*, 3rd Sess., 27th Congress, Vol. I, p. 426.

which various chiefs presided. About five miles north of the agency and on the opposite bank of the river, was the home of Keokuk's band. Here, half-way up the bluff at the rear of the Indian village was the chief's wigwam, with his little patch of corn and beans. Wapello and Appanoose had villages a short distance above Keokuk's, about a mile apart. The lower half of the slope above the river was cultivated by the squaws in a rude way, but the tribe was absent a large part of the time and permanent improvements were not possible. A fourth village was situated twenty-five miles northwest on the Des Moines River. Ten miles beyond, on the Skunk River, was the village of Kishkekosh; while the sixth village was sixty or seventy miles away on the Iowa River.⁷⁷

The agricultural work of the agency was maintained under discouraging conditions. In 1840 Governor Lucas reported that the pattern farm contained about thirty acres and the regular agency farm about one hundred. In addition to these farms, three fields near the Indian village had been plowed by the white farmers for the Indians, but Appanoose's band was the only one which had cultivated the crop. They had some eleven acres of wheat stacked.⁷⁸ Lieutenant Beach reported in 1841 that the farm contained 177 acres, including two acres planted in watermelons, the only things the Indians preferred to whiskey.⁷⁹

In 1842 the agent reported that the farm had been in-

⁷⁷ *House Executive Documents*, 2nd Sess., 27th Congress, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 327-330; Evans's (Editor) *History of Wapello County*, pp. 19, 20.

⁷⁸ *Senate Documents*, 2nd Sess., 26th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 323.

George Wilson, another son-in-law of Joseph M. Street, and likewise a graduate of West Point, was appointed farmer on November 1, 1842, and served until the Indians were removed in 1843. His wife received \$240 as matron. Besides the farmer, about ten laborers were employed between 1841 and 1843 at about \$240 a year. When the treaty was made Wilson received a preëmption claim to the pattern farm.—*Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. XII, p. 96.

⁷⁹ *House Executive Documents*, 2nd Sess., 27th Congress, Vol. I, pp. 327-330.

creased to 234 acres and produced 300 barrels of flour, between 1300 and 1800 bushels of corn, and about 800 bushels each of potatoes and turnips. None of the work, however, was performed by Indians, and Beach declared: "That the Indians can be induced to cultivate it, or to resort to any other than their customary imperfect mode of tillage, it is not to be expected, under their present circumstances; and while such is the case, there is no way in which a small portion of their means can be more judiciously applied, than in the employment of a few competent persons for purposes of agriculture."⁸⁰ Not only did the Indians refuse to work, but they tore down the fences and turned their ponies in to feed on the wheat stacks, rather than to be put to the trouble of catching them when turned out to feed.

The payment of the annuities was the occasion for much dispute. The two payments preceding that of 1840 had been made to the chiefs, but some of the Indians were dissatisfied, especially those belonging to Hardfish's band, which was largely composed of followers of Black Hawk. The Indians who opposed this method of distribution claimed that the chiefs showed partiality to the American Fur Company. Indeed, Governor Lucas reported, in 1840, that Keokuk, Wapello, and Appanoose had turned over \$40,000 of the annuity money, as well as a draft for the \$5000 reserved for education, to the agent of this company.⁸¹ The Washington authorities favored the former method for two reasons: first it was simpler and secondly, it increased the authority of the chiefs, a desirable influence in dealing with the tribes. On August 18, 1840, it was ordered that the annuities for that year should be distributed by the agent as usual, but when the Indians assembled the opposition became so great that Beach hesitated and sent Major Pilcher,

⁸⁰ *Senate Documents*, 3rd Sess., 27th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 424-427.

⁸¹ *Senate Documents*, 2nd Sess., 26th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 324.

the disbursing agent, to secure specie instead of paper money. Finally, Governor Lucas ordered Beach to send for the money, pay the annuities to the chiefs and braves to whom it had been paid the previous year and not permit any interference by white men.⁸² Governor Lucas, however, was removed from office before the payment was made.

John Chambers, the new Governor, and Lieutenant Beach made arrangements by which the annuity for that year was divided, \$16,000 being paid to Hardfish's band and \$24,000 to Keokuk's followers. It was further agreed that the annuity for 1841 should be paid to the heads of families instead of to the chiefs.⁸³ A memorandum made by John Beach in 1842 gives a detailed report of the distribution of the annuities under this arrangement. The name of each Indian is given; the number of men, women, and children in his family; and finally, the amount paid him — about seventeen dollars for each individual.⁸⁴ Thus the question of the method of distributing the Sac and Fox annuities was finally settled as John Beach had advised.

Aside from the government employees the only white men who were permitted by law to reside within the reservation were the licensed traders. The Sac and Fox Agency had a number of these. J. P. Eddy, licensed by Beach in 1840, had a trading-house at what is now Eddyville, then the home of the Indians under Hardfish or Wishecomaque. Pierre Chouteau, Jr., and Company had a post about a quarter of a mile below Eddy's, and W. G. and G. W. Ewing were assigned a station at the mouth of Sugar Creek, on the Otumwa side of the river. The character of these men was reported as rather above that of the average Indian trader,

⁸² Shambaugh's *Executive Journal of Iowa, 1838-1841*, pp. 257-259.

The chiefs and braves to whom the money was to be paid numbered about thirty.

⁸³ Parish's *John Chambers*, pp. 173-175.

⁸⁴ Manuscript in Historical Department, Des Moines, Iowa.

yet when the investigation of the claims against the Indians was made in 1841, the men who were conducting the investigation found that some of the accounts, especially those of the Ewings, included such appropriate items as Italian cravats and forty-five dollar dress coats.⁸⁵

Although Beach appears to have had less difficulty with these traders than the former agent had, their influence was recognized as formidable and was feared by men higher in authority than the Indian agent, as may be seen from two letters of Governor John Chambers — both written to Secretary Crawford of the War Department. One dated September 17, 1842, asserted that he had no favorites among the traders but had “always referred the subject of granting and changing licenses to the Agent, well knowing that if I exercised it in any case and should have occasion to revoke the licenses of others, it would be said that I was promoting the interest of favorites in doing so, *tho God knows* I have *no favorites among them*, and wish most sincerely the system could be so changed as to dispense with them altogether.” Again, on February 24, 1843, he wrote: “I acknowledge that (altho personally I am not a timid man) officially I fear these ‘regular traders’ because I cannot, by any power I possess, or influence I can obtain or exert, control, treat with, or influence the Indians in opposition to their interests or wishes.” These traders, declared Governor Chambers, brought letters from members of Congress, recommending them “as gentlemen of integrity, high standing, and great influence, and I suppose they might, in great truth, add, what would be equivalent to all the rest, distinguished *for their great wealth*, acquired in the Indian trade.”⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Parish's *John Chambers*, p. 182; Evans's (Editor) *History of Wapello County, Iowa*, p. 21.

⁸⁶ *Letters from the Correspondence of Robert Lucas, John Chambers, and James Clark, Territorial Governors and Superintendents of Indian Affairs for the Territory of Iowa, 1838-1846*, Vol. II, Historical Department, Des Moines.

When the Governor of the Territory of Iowa thus admitted that he feared the power of these traders it is not difficult to understand how unpleasant they might make the work of the agent, with whose character and ability few people had an opportunity to become acquainted. In addition to the licensed traders, the frontier was infested with men whose chief stock in trade was whiskey.

Although John Beach appears to have had less trouble with the traders than Joseph M. Street had experienced, he believed that they were opposed to him and to the civilization of the Indians. Soon after his appointment, he wrote to Governor Chambers: "The imposition and rascality practiced upon my charges is increasing to an alarming degree from the prospect of a treaty. God grant that the wretches concerned may then receive the reward of their iniquity, though in a different mode from that anticipated by them. Whiskey is pouring into the villages by every avenue and the poor drunken creatures are daily seen stretched senseless along the roads."⁸⁷ To remedy this condition Beach advocated, in his report of September 2, 1840, that one trader should be appointed for each tribe and the prices of goods regulated by the agent. This would prevent the Indians from wandering about to various places to trade where the chief attraction was whiskey, and would also prevent the sale of unnecessary and high priced goods to the Indians, who would buy anything, at any price if they could get it on credit. Among articles of this kind Beach listed side-saddles and cloth at eight and ten dollars per yard.⁸⁸ It is needless to say that this recommendation was not carried out and the traders remained to reap their golden harvests at the time of the Indian annuity payments.

⁸⁷ Letter of John Beach, August 14, 1840, in the *Letters from the Correspondence of Robert Lucas, John Chambers, and James Clark, Territorial Governors and Superintendents of Indian Affairs for the Territory of Iowa, 1833-1846*, Vol. II, State Historical Department, Des Moines, Iowa.

⁸⁸ *Senate Documents*, 2nd Sess., 26th Session, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 326.

The white settlers and illegal traders became so defiant that Agent Beach asked for a military force to remove them. At first detachments were sent from Fort Atkinson, but as soon as the specific work assigned them had been done they returned to the fort, and almost immediately the intruders were back again. The grist mill on Soap Creek, built under Beach's direction after the first mill had been destroyed by a flood, was burned in the summer of 1842 and the agent reported that the incendiaries were men who were angry because they had been driven off the reservation.⁸⁹ With men of this sort watching every opportunity to enter the reservation the agent in charge had neither a safe nor an easy post, nor could he hope to arouse much enthusiasm among his charges for improving lands which white men were already staking out as claims. As the time for the making of the proposed treaty approached, the activity of the frontiersmen increased. Both Beach and Governor Chambers wrote to ask for troops. Governor Chambers directed the following appeal to General Atkinson on September 16, 1842: "I beg that you will despatch the company required without delay, as the return of Lieut. Grier with his command will leave the public property at the agency exposed to much hazard of destruction. The Indian mills near the agency have already been destroyed by fire, and the Agency houses publicly threatened."⁹⁰

The whites had been exasperated when the Sacs and Foxes refused to make a treaty in 1841; they now threatened violence if again thwarted in their designs. At last Captain Allen, in charge of a company of the First Dragoons was sent to keep order at the agency under the orders

⁸⁹ *Senate Documents*, 3rd Sess., 27th Congress, Vol. I, p. 425.

⁹⁰ *Letters from the Correspondence of Robert Lucas, John Chambers, and James Clark, Territorial Governors and Superintendents of Indian Affairs for the Territory of Iowa, 1838-1846*, Vol. II, Historical Department, Des Moines, Iowa.

of Agent Beach. The men went into camp four miles west of the agency in some deserted cabins of the American Fur Company. This post, which was never a real fort, was named Fort Sanford by Captain Allen, but was referred to by the War Department simply as the Sac and Fox Agency.

At last, the Indians assembled to meet Governor Chambers and to consider the ceding of their lands in Iowa. A large council tent had been erected by the agent, and here the chiefs met the official representatives of the United States. There surrounded by agency employees, white traders, settlers, officers, and soldiers, they made the treaty of October 11, 1842. The Indians loved Iowa, but the pressure of the white pioneers was unbearable. Their debts to the traders, which the commissioners appointed by Governor Chambers had approved, amounted to over \$250,000 and they realized that resistance was useless.⁹¹

The treaty provided that the Sacs and Foxes might remain in their present location until May 1, 1843, when they promised to remove west of a line running north and south through the painted rocks on the White Breast Fork of the Des Moines River. Here they were permitted to remain three years, but at the end of this period all their land east of the Missouri was to be vacated. It was also provided that the section of land on which the agency house was located and on which Wapello and Joseph M. Street were buried should be given to Mrs. Street, the Indians paying \$1000 out of their annuity money for the buildings. The treaty was signed by John Chambers and by forty-four Sac and Fox chiefs and braves, and was witnessed by Agent John Beach, Antoine Le Claire, and Josiah Smart (inter-

⁹¹ Parish's *John Chambers*, pp. 178-185; *Journal of Captain Allen* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XI, pp. 70, 71; Van der Zee's *Forts in the Iowa Country* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XII, pp. 191, 193.

preters), Captain Allen, Lieutenant Ruff, Arthur Bridgman, Alfred Hebard, and Jacob O. Phister.⁹²

In the spring of 1843, the Indians began their reluctant march to the new center higher up on the Des Moines where Lieutenant Beach had located a temporary agency. The site selected was a mile east of Fort Des Moines which had been established between the Raccoon and Des Moines rivers by Captain Allen. This fort was established for the protection of the Sacs and Foxes from the Sioux and from the white settlers, and was garrisoned by about one hundred men. By about the middle of May both soldiers and Indians were established in the new quarters and John Beach resumed agency work.⁹³ Since this post was temporary, however, no attempt was made to resume agricultural operations nor to establish schools for the children.

From this new center the Indians wandered about, hunting or visiting their old haunts on the Iowa and Des Moines rivers, their visits to the whites being induced largely by the hope of securing "firewater". Early in the spring they moved to their sugar camps to make sugar and molasses, but later they returned to their permanent camps where the squaws planted a few acres in corn, beans, and melons.

Reverend B. A. Spaulding, who visited the Des Moines agency in 1844, reported that the agency corps consisted of the agent, an interpreter, two gunsmiths, and two blacksmiths, with their families and servants. About two hundred whites, including the garrison of the fort, lived within the reservation, and on the banks of the Des Moines River was an Indian village with two or three hundred inhabit-

⁹² Kappler's *Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, pp. 546-549.

The interpreter, Josiah Smart, had a large log house near the agency house and ran a farm on the reservation. He had an Indian wife and two daughters. He was also the owner of two slave women.—*Annals of Iowa*, Vol. XII, p. 96.

⁹³ Brigham's *History of Des Moines and Polk County, Iowa*, Vol. I, pp. 22, 47, 48.

ants. The huge bark wigwams stood in the midst of desolation. Trees, shrubs, and even grass had been destroyed by the horses and the people so that dust was everywhere. He estimated the total number of Indians at 2200.⁹⁴

Agent Beach realized that the change in location had not freed the Indians from temptation and declared that, "it is not a subject of astonishment that the education, the civilization, and especially the glorious religion of the white man, are held by them in so little estimation. Our education appears to consist in knowing how most effectually to cheat them; our civilization in knowing how to pander to the worst propensities of nature, and then beholding the criminal and inhuman results with a cold indifference — a worse than heathen apathy; while our religion is readily summed up in the consideration of dollars and cents." In this same report Beach complained that the site of the agency was unhealthful and declared that in the preceding year seventy-nine Indians, including Pashepaho, had died.⁹⁵

The agent, however, was not the only one who described the effect of the whites on the Indians. A witness of the distribution of the last Sac and Fox annuities at Fort Des Moines in 1845 asserted that the soldiers gave the Indians liquor in the presence of their officers and declared that "the location of Fort Des Moines among the Sac and Fox Indians (under its present commander,) for the last two years, has corrupted them more and lowered them deeper in the scale of vice and degradation, than all their intercourse with the whites for the ten years previous. Captain Allen thinks nothing of *Treating* the Indians to *Liquor*, and the night before the payment he sent a bottle of liquor to Pow-e-shiek with his compliments."

⁹⁴ *Ottumwa Courier*, August 10, 1912, Sec. 3, p. 4.

⁹⁵ *Senate Documents*, 1st Sess., 29th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 485, 486. Pashepaho was a brother of Hardfish.

“It is said by those living near the garrison that Captain A. and the Sutler had a particular object in view in making the Indians drunk about the time of the payment.” After severely condemning the military officer for not enforcing the law excluding liquor, the writer added: “Captain Beach made the second order on Captain Allen to clear the country of at least the whiskey peddlers, but he paid no attention to what Mr. Beach wished done.”⁹⁶

An inhabitant of Des Moines described the old agency house in 1861, just before it was torn down, as follows:

This building is a log-cabin of a ‘story and a half’ high, weather-boarded, and containing two rooms below and one above. Here all the business with the Indians was transacted during the three years intervening between the time of the treaty at Agency (which was near the western line of the first cession of land made by the Sac and Fox Indians after the Black Hawk war), when their remaining lands in Iowa were ceded to the general government, till their title expired.

The house is now within the corporate limits of Des Moines, formerly Fort Des Moines, and stands about a mile from the city, at the south eastern limit of the grove in which it (the city) is located. It is situated on elevated ground, on the south side of the road leading to Iowa City, the former capital of the State, and faces to the northwest. The ground falls abruptly, just back of the building, a short distance, and then slopes to the shore of Spring Lake, beyond which the prairie extends eastward three miles to a belt of timber known as Four-Mile Timber, from a stream of that name along which it grows.⁹⁷

At last the end of the three-year reprieve was at hand. Many people believed that the Indians would refuse to leave; but convinced of the hopelessness of resistance, the Sacs took up the march and by the last of September, 1845, the last of this tribe had crossed the Missouri. The Foxes

⁹⁶ Van der Zee's *Forts in the Iowa Country* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XII, pp. 195, 196.

⁹⁷ *Harper's Weekly*, February 9, 1861.

followed slowly but stopped on the way to visit the Pottawattamies and did not reach the rendezvous until after Beach made his report in September, 1846. The history of these tribes is henceforth not connected with Iowa history except for the few who later straggled back to dwell upon the banks of the Iowa — a pitiful remnant of a vanished race.⁹⁸ After conducting the Indians to their new homes, John Beach returned to Iowa and made his home at Agency City, where he died on August 31, 1874.⁹⁹

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⁹⁸ *Executive Documents*, 2nd Sess., 29th Congress, Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 299, 300.

⁹⁹ For a brief biography of John Beach see Fulton's *Red Men of Iowa*, pp. 351, 352.

ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF THE ADMISSION OF IOWA INTO THE UNION

The Territory of Iowa had scarcely been established and its government put into operation when there sprang up an agitation in favor of statehood. Indeed, in his message of November, 1839, Governor Robert Lucas gave his hearty support to the movement; but the Legislative Assembly refused to act upon his suggestions. Nevertheless, the advocates of admission into the Union were so insistent that at an extra session of the legislature in the summer of 1840 an act was passed submitting the question to a vote of the people. Little interest was manifested in the election, but a decisive majority against the proposition indicated that the people of Iowa were not yet ready for statehood.

In spite of the fact that the following year witnessed a change in the office of Governor of the Territory — John Chambers, a Whig, taking the place of Robert Lucas who was a Democrat — the proposal to form a State government was not allowed to remain long in the background. Governor Chambers likewise espoused the movement, another act calling for an expression of the popular will was passed, there was a vigorous discussion, and again the statehood propagandists met defeat. This was in 1842. Two years later they were successful. A constitutional convention met and drew up a constitution under which it was confidently expected that Iowa would soon be admitted into the Union. Once more all hopes were dashed to the ground. Congress reduced the boundaries of the proposed State, cutting it off entirely from the Missouri River. As a result the people indignantly refused to adopt the constitution when it was

submitted to them. In fact it was not until December 28, 1846, that the long campaign for statehood culminated in the signing of the act of Congress which made Iowa a member of the Union of Commonwealths.¹

The following article is copied verbatim from the *Iowa Capitol Reporter* (Iowa City) of July 23, 1842. It is one of the most comprehensive and detailed arguments in favor of statehood that appeared in the newspapers of Iowa during the course of the agitation. The reasons adduced in support of the proposition in 1842 were substantially the same as those relied upon throughout the period of discussion by the friends of the movement. Incidentally there is in this lengthy plea a reflection also of the arguments used against the abandonment of the Territorial status.

Furthermore, the article throws some light on conditions in the Territory of Iowa in 1842 with respect to the rapidity of settlement, the physical resources of the Territory, the development of commerce and industries, the amount of local revenue, the salaries and fees of county and township officers, and the efforts that were being made to eliminate extravagance in the administration of public business; and it indicates the ideas of the period concerning suitable salaries for State officers. While it should be remembered that the article is a brief for statehood, it appears to be substantially free from any distortion of the facts. It is an excellent statement of one side of the principal public question before the people of Iowa from 1838 to 1846.

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¹ For accounts of the movement toward statehood in Iowa see Shambaugh's *History of the Constitutions of Iowa*, Chs. IX-XVIII; Pelzer's *Augustus Caesar Dodge*, Ch. VIII; and Parish's *John Chambers*, Ch. XIII.

To the Voters of Iowa!

At the ensuing August election the Voters of Iowa will be called upon to vote for or against a "Convention" to form a Constitution preparatory to the admission of the Territory into the Union as a free, independent and sovereign State. As this is one of the most important questions which it may ever be their duty or privilege to decide, it behooves them that they should possess a full understanding of the whole subject. We have hoped that it would not be a fruitless labor on our part if we should endeavor to give a hurried statement of the arguments for, as well as the objections to, voting for the Convention at the coming election. We hope too that no one will be deterred from perusing this address by its length, but that they will give it their patient attention. We desire to lay the subject before our fellow citizens in a plain, comprehensive manner, fitted to the humblest intellect, so that he who runs may not only read, but understand also. We have also shut out from view all partizan feelings, believing that the question to be decided will in no wise be connected with the party politics of the day, but [that it is a question] of a higher nature, and more important in its results to the people of Iowa than all their petty elections for county or Territorial officers.

It would be great vanity in us to suppose that we could, if we even felt disposed, examine this subject without frequently recurring to many arguments which have heretofore been used. This we do not affect or pretend to do, the chief object of our address being to collect and lay before the people of the Territory all the information we have in our possession on the subject.

And as an additional preliminary remark, we would warn our fellow citizens to beware of the sophistry and wiles of individuals who now hold office under the present administration, as well as of those who expect situations under a

State government, for all such are moved more or less by selfish motives, and their support or opposition to the "Convention", emanates from the same source. Again we say to the people look at the question of *Convention alone, and its consequences*.

In order that we direct our steps aright we here insert a synopsis of "An act to provide for the expression of the people of Iowa", &c., under the provisions of which the citizens of the Territory are required to vote at the ensuing August election.²

Sec. 1st. Provides that a poll shall be opened at the general election *in August next*, at each electoral precinct in the Territory, to obtain an expression of the people upon the subject of the formation of a Constitution and State government for Iowa.

Sec. 2d. Provides that the voters shall be interrogated by the judges on the subject and answer "Convention" or "No Convention" as they may deem proper.

Sec. 3d. Shows the manner in which the Clerk shall write down the number of votes, gives the mode of returning a statement of the votes to the county Commissioners of the proper county, and the manner in which abstracts of the same shall be forwarded to and examined by the Governor.

Sec. 4th. Provides that if the "Convention" prevails, an election shall be held for delegates *on the second Monday in October next*, and also the manner of giving notice of such election.

Sec. 5th. Fixes the whole number of delegates at 82 and apportions them among the several counties of the Territory.

Sec. 6th. Provides how the returns of delegates election shall be certified, &c.

² *Laws of the Territory of Iowa, 1841-1842*, pp. 70-73. The entire law contained fourteen sections.

Sec. 7th. Provides that the delegates *elect* shall meet at Iowa City *on the first Monday in November next*, and then proceed to form a Constitution, &c.

Sec. 8th. Provides that when the Constitution is so formed, it shall be published and submitted to the decision of the voters of the Territory, at the general election for members of the Council and House of Representatives, which, if the election is not postponed until October, will be *in August 1843*. The voters will vote "For the Constitution" or "Against the Constitution" as they desire. This section further provides for the manner of transmitting to the Governor the returns of this election, and the manner in which he is required to announce the result.

Sec. 9. Provides that qualified electors may vote for or against a Convention *in any county* in the Territory, whether *residents of the county or not*; but it is provided that in the election for *Delegates* the electors shall *not* vote out of the county where they have their residences.

This we believe is the only section of the law of *immediate* interest to the people.

It will be well to say here that this law does not provide for *immediate* admission into the Union as some erroneously suppose, and as others falsely assert. The course of progress under this act, if the "Convention" question was successful, would be about as follows, viz: Delegates would be chosen in October next, who would meet and most probably remain in session for four or five weeks — the Constitution formed by these delegates in Convention would then be submitted to the people for their adoption or rejection, in August 1843; then it would, if accepted, be forwarded to Congress, and an act passed admitting the Territory into the Union. And in the ensuing spring or summer of 1844, the citizens of Iowa would proceed to the election of their State officers; and from that date — *two years hence* — we

would be entitled to all the privileges which *Freemen* enjoy, and subject to all the burdens, *if you please*, with which the opponents of a State government endeavor to alarm the voters of this Territory. This we repeat would be our progress toward a State government under the most auspicious circumstances.—It will be important, therefore, that all should remember that *Iowa will not under the law above recited be enabled to procure admission into the Union in less than two years.*

A lame and impotent attempt has been made by some who are unwilling to argue this question fairly to connect it with party, by endeavoring to show that if a change had not taken place in the administration of the General Government, and consequently in many of the officers in the Territory, that no movement would have been made in favor of a "Convention."—This charge is not only gratuitous, but ridiculous in the extreme, when it is remembered that the subject of State government was brought before the last Legislative Assembly by the annual Message of Governor Chambers, the *present* Chief Magistrate of the Territory. This charge was evidently made with the vain hope of connecting the question with party politics; but additional evidence of its want of the semblance of truth is found in the fact that in 1839, Robert Lucas, *then* Governor of Iowa, in his annual communication to the Legislature, uses the following language in relation to a State government and this, remember, was more than *two years ago*.

"When we consider the rapidly increasing population, and advancing prosperity of the Territory, we may, in my opinion, with propriety proceed to measures preparatory to the formation of a Constitution and State Government, and for admission into the Union as an independent State. I know it is the opinion of some, that such measures would be premature at this time, inasmuch as our expenses are

defrayed by the U. States.—This consideration is entitled to weight — but when we consider the imperfect organization of the Territorial Government and the consequent embarrassment in the administration of its internal affairs — and by referring to past history, compare the condition of the inhabitants of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Michigan, while under a Territorial Government, to their subsequent prosperity after their admission into the Union as independent States, the preponderance is much in favor of a State government — for the prosperity and improvement within each of the aforesaid States languished while Territories, but advanced with rapid strides from the moment of their several admissions into the Union as independent States. With these facts before us, I would earnestly recommend to the Legislative Assembly the early passage of a memorial to Congress, respectfully asking of that body the passage of an act, at their ensuing session, granting to the inhabitants of Iowa Territory, the right to form a Constitution and State Government, and to provide for their admission into the Union upon an equal footing with the original States.”

On the other hand a gentleman, who was afterwards twice the candidate of the whig party in this Territory for Congress, a member of the Legislature in the session of 1839, '40, made a report to that body from which we are tempted to make the following extracts — embodying, as they do, cogent reasoning and an ample refutation of many of the arguments now advanced in opposition to a State government. And we will also say that if this reasoning was good *two years ago*, how much more potent will it be when applied to the condition of the Territory *two years hence!*

“The new States which present to the world empty coffers and bankruptcy, have been reduced to that condition,

not by the necessary expenses of government, but by impolitic measures, and by unauthorized and visionary schemes of internal improvements."

"It may in truth be said, that the sooner the people of Iowa pass through the scene of confusion from a Territorial to a State government, the sooner they will be able to present to the world a civil organization worthy of the country in which they live. In our judiciary, the most important branch of government, we cannot expect anything like perfection, until the whole system is placed under the control of an independent State.

"The minority of your committee has also taken into consideration the standing that would be given to our State upon its admission into the Union. It is the received opinion that in Territories, there is less certainty in the laws, and less security for persons and property, than in State governments. By admission into the Union capital and enterprise would be brought into the State, commerce would receive an impetus, and new encouragement would be given to the agriculturist, and to the mechanic. The amount of taxable personal property would be greatly increased, and the value of property greatly enhanced. In addition to these arguments it may be said that the people, by admission, would secure to themselves many and important political privileges. They would then have a right to organize their judiciary and *fill the offices of the State with selections from among the citizens of the country.*"

"If our citizens wish to enjoy all the rights and privileges which appertain to FREEMEN, and give to their Territory the attributes of SOVEREIGNTY; if they wish to enjoy the elective franchise *without dictation from a superior*; and if they wish to enact their own laws *independent of a supervisory power from abroad*, they must ask for and obtain admission into the Union."

We have said this much about the former movement in relation to a "Convention" because we were anxious to show that it *ever* has been disconnected with politics, as gentlemen holding different political opinions acted together on this subject. And such we may add is the case at present.

Another feeble effort at opposition to the "Convention", has been made by referring to the vote of the people of the Territory in 1840, by which it is endeavored to be *indirectly* shown that because the citizens were opposed to a State government then, they still hold the same opinion. This argument, if it be properly so called, scarcely deserves a passing notice. If any one will take the trouble of examining the journals they will see that but a small portion of the voters felt interested in this question; so lukewarm were they that a large and populous district made no return whatever of votes for or against a "Convention". There was no excitement on the subject — there was but little effort made in favor of and but few objections urged against it. But even admitting that the *silence* of the people was an evidence of their opposition to a "Convention" *then*, does that evidence in any degree what ought to be their decision in relation to our admission *two years hence*? Why this would be to suppose that our young and fertile Territory was in a state of torpor and not striding with the steps of a giant rapidly onward to greatness and prosperity. But an argument of this kind is catching at straws, and is unworthy of serious consideration.

Assuming, then, the position that the "Convention" movement was originated with proper motives, and that the vote on the subject in 1840 is no evidence of what the people should do two years hereafter, and thus removing two arguments of the opponents of "Convention", let us inquire if the people here are competent to take upon them the admin-

istration of their own affairs. Have they the capacity which would enable them to furnish and select officers from *among themselves* — in a word are they capable of self government? We are aware that this interrogatory so directly propounded might almost be esteemed, and justly too, an insult to the intelligence of the people of Iowa, but we are induced to believe that an effort, a covert one 'tis true, is being made to inculcate this heresy, when we hear it uttered from high places, that the citizens of the Territory have “all the freedom and all the advantages of the residents in the most favored States.” This is in effect taking the ground that we should *never* emerge from our present provincial dependence, or that our judgments are too callow, our intellect not sufficiently fledged to enable us to sustain a change of government.

Are the people here minors; or are they afflicted with mental imbecility?

Are they not the same “kith and kin” of those who founded and sustained the enduring pillars of the Union? Are they not full grown men themselves,— nay are they not the very best *material* to form and sustain a substantial, economical, and republican government? There are numbers perhaps a majority of our citizens, who have left the neighboring state; they have there seen the extravagant and reckless schemes by which the funds of the people have been scattered to the winds. They have suffered themselves by this spendthrift improvidence, and they, above all other men, are the persons to whom the formation of a cheap and amply restricted State Constitution and government might be safely confided. And here we might notice that the opponents of state government frequently point to the bankruptcy of other states as a warning to us, lest we should suffer the same calamities by throwing off our present colonial dependence. To this the unanswerable response

may be given that it is from this very unwise legislation that we can and will be forewarned,—that the visionary systems of *internal* improvements in Indiana and Illinois are our beacon lights and that the very individuals who were loudest and most ardent in the support of these exploded schemes, and who consequently have been sadly disappointed and many almost ruined would be the very best pilots to steer us out of similar dangers. Experience, although sometimes extremely expensive, always furnishes the most useful teaching. Again it must be remembered that the bankruptcy of these states is the result of the legislation of a few years past; that such legislation did not necessarily follow the formation of a state government, but that on the contrary for a long time after their admission into the Union, their prosperity and progress to greatness and wealth were almost incredible. For the truth of this we appeal to their past history. It might be well also to dispose at present of the objections made by the opponents to a “Convention”, that the “*times are too hard*”, “*that money is too scarce*” to make a change to a state government under the provisions of the law above recited. To all this we reply, that the proper season for effecting this change is at hand, now is the time to found an economical government, and fix the salaries of the officers under it at rates proportioned to the “*times*”. What would now be the situation of the people of a Territory which had come into the Union in 1835 or 36, when fictitious money was as plentiful as the sands on the sea shore? Its officers would have been allowed extravagant salaries, every thing would have been measured by a standard of prodigality, and at present such new state would be utterly impoverished.— Suppose that we should delay our application for admission for eight or nine years — suppose in the meantime, that the country should again, (which heaven forbid,) be covered mid-leg deep with

bank notes — suppose we should rush into the Union and to which course many who now prate about hard times would then make no objection; we say in view of all these things, what would be the situation of Iowa in a few short years, after we had assumed the dignity of a state government? Contraction and failure of many of the Banks would take place, for they follow expansion as “night the day”— times would again grow hard, and then most probably we would have an empty treasury and numerous officers with high fees. True, these salaries might be reduced, and our expenses curtailed, but it would be a long, long time, before we would be freed from the noxious influence of the spirit of extravagance, which an abundance of unreal money would beget in our legislation. To a remnant of this feeling induced by a plethoric state of the currency we may in part ascribe the expenditures of Wisconsin and Iowa for several of the past years. The most propitious time, we again assert, for the foundation of an economical government, is when men know and feel the value of money; when the bankruptcy of the surrounding states warns us of the causes of their ruin; when speculation has fled away upon bank note wings, when industry and frugality are again consuming their proper influence amongst us; when homespun is again becoming fashionable, when the simplicity of republicanism is daily more apparent in public and private life; when probity and integrity, are again acknowledged as virtues and when the whole people are again rising to the dignity of freemen. That such is the situation of the country at present no one with truth can deny.

If it cannot be denied, (and we presume no one will be hardy enough to attempt it,) that our citizens are competent to the administration of their own government, what credit for intelligence or patriotism shall we mete out to those who aver that “in entering the Union the people themselves

would directly have but very few privileges more than they now possess." It is no privilege to be entitled to cast our votes for the Chief Magistrate of the Union? It is no privilege to be permitted to select our own Governor and other officers from among our fellow citizens? Is it no privilege to have a stable Constitution formed by our *own people*, and one which our *own people* alone can alter or amend? A constitution not to be changed like our present organic law, on the mere pleasure of Congress without our interference, a constitution *restricting the legislation of the country from improvident loans and state debts*, and all the aggregation of evils that flow from a loose unsettled form of government. And would not our admission at once give us a character abroad which we do not now enjoy? Is it no privilege to be fully represented in Congress, where now we have only a delegate, who is placed in the humble situation of a mere mendicant for congressional favors? We would then demand and enforce as a *right*, what we *now* petition for as a bounty. We are now furnishing our proportion towards the revenue of the general government by the sums which we pay for our salt, sugar, molasses, iron, and many of the other necessities of life, the amount of the tariff on imported articles being always paid by the consumer. We are therefore taxed in this way to support the general government; we are not *represented*, and yet are told that there are few privileges which we do not possess. Why, it was because our fathers would not submit to taxation without representation that they, unprepared as they were, incurred the expenses and horrors of a long harassing war — a war which finally terminated in the emancipation of the whole country from foreign thralldom. And shall we not esteem it a great, a glorious privilege, to be represented in our national councils; and can there be so degenerated a son of those noble sires who has the unblushing effrontery to say, that there

are very few privileges which we, not enjoying such representation, do not possess! If a Territorial government offers to its citizens "all the freedom and all the advantages of the most favored States", why should we ever change it? Why should we not continue from year to year the pensioners of the General Government? Why have other states come forth from their pupilage and taken upon them the right of self government? But it is useless to pursue this theme any further; it is not within the limits of probability that there is any one so blind to the permanent interest of the Territory who does not know that many important nay almost indispensable privileges of freemen, are not enjoyed under a Territorial Government. In the foregoing remarks we have not included the pecuniary advantages to which we would be entitled under a state government, but merely referred to those of a political nature — the former we will allude to hereafter.

It is but fair to admit that a majority of those who are opposed to a State Government freely confess that there are many inducements in favor of a change, but that at present we are unable to meet and defray the necessary expenditures, and therefore that our application for admission should be postponed. There was a time even in this country when an argument addressed as this is to the meanest passion of the human heart would have been condemned, and the trifling expenses of a new government would not have offered any obstacle to adopting it, when such government was productive of additional freedom. The expenses of a State government is the grand and only argument of its opponents, and they have never ceased to raise the cry of "taxation", "taxation", as a bugbear to alarm the timid friends of a change from our present state of tutelage. We say that the time was when wailings of this kind would have failed to effect anything; but the "age of bargaining has

come", and we must endeavor to show these alarmists that even in a pecuniary point of view, we have nothing to lose by going into the Union — And first the Anti Conventionists say that our new state will be burdened with sundry debts, viz: the expense attendant on the meeting of a Convention, the arrearages for legislative expenditures, the debts due for the work done on the Capitol at Iowa City, and the amount owing to persons for labor done and materials furnished, on the Penitentiary. And first of the expenses of a Convention. A memorial was passed by the last Legislative Assembly praying Congress for an appropriation of \$20,000 to defray the expenses of this Convention. Now this is a very large amount required from the general government, and if such appropriation is made we can possibly have no objection, but we are assured that \$4 or 5000 would be amply sufficient to cover all the expenditures, but if no amount whatever is appropriated by Congress then the Delegates elect must be content to *defray their own expenses*. Their expenses will not be great, for we may be certain that a few weeks will suffice for the formation of a Constitution if the time and labor of the delegates are to be expended for "the public good". We know that this would bring into the field as candidates for Delegate, men who are filled with the desire to serve their fellow citizens and not those who are stimulated by mercenary motives. There will be no difficulty in ever finding men, sufficiently patriotic in every county of the Territory to take upon them the honorable and important office of Delegate, "without money and without price". There is no law of the Territory authorizing the payment of any expenses of the "Convention"; and if no appropriation is made by Congress for that purpose, none of the charges should be paid except the trifling amount which would be owing for stationery and clerk hire — *strike out therefore the expense of a Convention from the*

debts of the State of Iowa.—The excess of Legislative expenditures over and above the several appropriations made by Congress since the organization of the Territory has also been blazoned forth as a debt to be paid by the new State: The amount of these arrearages it was supposed was \$13,400. This debt has been liquidated in full by a late act of the present Congress appropriating the foregoing amount for the payment of the said arrearages. Subsequent to the passage of the above mentioned law it was discovered that the sum so appropriated fell short of paying all the legislative arrearages \$1 or 2000. This arose from some error or mistake of the proper officer here in making out his statements, but this small amount can easily be paid by a due exercise of economy on the part of the next legislature especially, as the number of their officers and pay of such officers has been reduced \$2,325 each session, (provided they sit the whole 75 days allowed by law) less than the expenses of former Legislatures, by an act passed at the last session of the Legislative Assembly. We may therefore safely assert that there will be no debt from the above sum against the State of Iowa.

Prominent in the array of liabilities of the Territory marshalled by the opponents of "Convention" stands the "debt created on account of the Capitol" at Iowa City. Let us examine this matter briefly.

From a statement furnished by the late Territorial Agent,	
we find that the amount borrowed from (and yet due)	
to the Dubuque Bank, of moneys expended on the	
Capitol is	\$5,500
Certificates, such as referred to in report to the last	
Legislature, outstanding and unpaid, about	3,000
Other arrearages not presented at date of report say	250
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Total	\$9,000

The above he adds will not vary fifty dollars from the amount of arrearages at the date of my leaving the office of Agent', (Feb. 1842.)

It will be well here to remind our fellow citizens that the section of land on which Iowa City was laid out was donated by Congress and from the proceeds of the sales of lots in that place thus far funds have been supplied for work done and materials furnished for the Capitol, and that with the amount arising from the future sales it is expected to complete the building as is shown below.

The amount of notes given in payment for lots in Iowa City remaining unpaid at the date aforesaid was about	\$12,000
Amount of unsold lots valued at the present minimum price which is <i>fifty per cent below</i> all previous valuations is	\$54,200
	<hr/>
	\$66,200
Now deduct from this the indebtedness above mentioned namely,	9,000
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Balance	\$55,000 ³
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This balance remains to complete the Capitol. That it is amply sufficient for that purpose will be seen by referring to a report made by the Superintendent of Public Buildings at Iowa City to the last Legislative Assembly dated "Jan. 5, 1842", in which he states that the sum of \$33,330.00 will be required to complete the building.—

From the above valuation	\$55,000
Deduct this amount	33,330

And it leaves a balance over and above the whole expenses of completing the Capitol of	\$21,670
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Now it will be observed by an examination of the last cited report that a large amount of the expenses included in

³ Here, of course, is an error in subtraction; but it is an error to the disadvantage, rather than to the advantage of the argument.

the above estimate, say \$10,000, is to be incurred for building the porticos and dome of the Capitol, and "which may be dispensed with at present", says the superintendent "*and added to the building at any future time*". Without therefore injuring the usefulness of the Capitol, we could, if funds were not at hand, delay the finishing of the above ornamental portions of it, and thus reduce the amount actually required to complete it for all useful purposes to the sum of \$20 or 25,000.

It may also be necessary to state here, that we have understood that Mr. Snyder, the present Superintendent, intends to complete the building upon a cheaper plan, than was originally contemplated by the former officer, and consequently the amount required to finish the Capitol will be yet further reduced. To show that the above estimated value of the lots, viz: \$54,000, remaining undisposed of at the above date, is not too high, we may advert to the fact that in May last, a sale of Iowa City lots took place under the law reducing the price, and that those then sold brought \$12,177, their minimum value being only \$10,103. Thus showing to every unprejudiced mind that the lots will furnish a sufficient fund to complete the Capitol and leave a handsome sum in the Treasury. But [it] will also be proper here to say that the sum of only \$15,000 is required to put the Capitol in a situation for the occupation of the Legislative Assembly, and thus for all practical purposes the building will be sufficiently finished for the present. As soon as convenient we may complete it. This sum then (\$15,000) or nearly that amount is already due the Territory for lots sold in Iowa City; and therefore all the alarming calculations of the opponents of admission on this point fall to the ground. We conceive that they have been particularly unfortunate in referring to this subject. Next upon the list of bugbears held out by the antagonists of State government, stands the debt due for

labor performed upon the Penitentiary, &c. at Fort Madison. This is estimated by the Director in his report at *about* \$13,000. A bill has been introduced into Congress appropriating the sum of \$15,000, for this building, which will without doubt become a law. This will pay the above debt, and leave a surplus of \$2,000, and thus this item of indebtedness would be disposed of. But admitting for the sake of argument that no such appropriation would be made, in what *worse* situation will we be in regard to this debt under the *State* of Iowa than the *Territory* of Iowa. If the debt is to be liquidated will it be more easily paid by us as a *Territory* than as a *State*? Will it not be *two years* before we can gain admission into the Union, and may we not during that time memorialize Congress on the subject, and obtain an appropriation. In view of our application for admission the General Government would be *more* disposed to pay this debt, to enable us to come into the Union, than if we exhibited no disposition to do so, but remained like an overgrown adult in the house of an indulgent parent. And again our admission would not prevent us from seeking an appropriation from Congress to pay the debts off, and complete the Penitentiary. It is a great error to suppose that Territories alone receive liberal donations of land and money from the General Government. The very reverse of this is the case; and if any one will take the trouble to examine the appropriations made to Michigan, he will find that those which were made to her as a *State* largely exceed those which were made to her as a *Territory*. There is no definite time fixed for the payment of the sum so due; and will it not be in the power of the State of Iowa, if Congress should not liquidate the amount before we procure admission, to say *when* and [in] *what manner* the debt shall be paid? If the payment was postponed for any length of time the sum would be but slightly increased, a little more than

one half of the above stated amount only bearing an interest of six per centum per annum, and the remaining portion no interest whatever. We contend however that even if the appropriation which we have referred to, should not be made, yet the Penitentiary debt ought not to present any obstacle to application for admission, because we will be placed in no *worse* situation for paying it by going into the Union than we are at present. It has been said that the Penitentiary would require to be finished by the State of Iowa. Now this objection evinces how hard pressed the opponents of admission are for argument, but it is just that they should be treated fairly. If Iowa looks to the General Government to complete her Penitentiary, the fact of going into the Union will not change the result. If, on the other hand, Iowa intends to finish the building without the aid of Congress it can be done at any future time when it is found practicable. We say it can be done at any future time, because the Penitentiary is at present prepared to receive and safe keep convicts. These convicts are of but little expense to the territory, and we are assured by the Warden, that the labor of ten or twelve prisoners would be sufficient to pay for their guarding, clothing and boarding. The Penitentiary therefore may be used as a prison for years to come without any additional work being done on the building. The amount necessary to finish it may not be required (even if Congress should not appropriate a sufficient sum to finish it) until we may number 2 or 300,000 inhabitants. We have said more perhaps than was necessary about the completion of the Penitentiary and Capitol, because we believe that the very fact of having two such massive and well constructed buildings, but *half completed*, if you please, is an argument which goes rather to show our readiness for admission than otherwise. We say this because nearly all the other States, many with a less population than we will have two years

hence, went into the Union without a *single dollar* being appropriated by the General Government for their public buildings, whilst we have had appropriations sufficient to *half finish*, at least, our Penitentiary, and a grant of land *abundantly ample* to complete our Capitol. Who can deny that we are not in advance of the other Territories heretofore admitted, so far as public buildings are concerned?

But the chief and most frequently repeated argument of the opponents of a Convention is the annual expense of a State government, which the people of the State of Iowa will be required to pay, whereas the expense of the Territorial Government is now defrayed out of the National Treasury. This, we believe, is the length and breadth of this objection to admission. It will first be necessary to define as nearly as practicable the expense of a State Government. And here we will just say, that it is not of any importance to this argument to know what the General Government *now* appropriates annually for our expenses, for we have no doubt that we could manage to expend \$100,000 provided we did not furnish the money ourselves. We mention this because the friends of a Territorial Government always fortify themselves behind the annual appropriation made by Congress for our expenses, and the \$10,000 paid to our juries by the Marshal of the United States. Now we repeat that with these things we have nothing to do, because the friends and opponents of admission do not disagree as to the amount which we will of course receive from the General Government on going into the Union, but as to the amount which will keep the wheels of the State going, and how that amount is to be raised. Our inquiry, therefore, should be, how much money will it require to sustain a government, when that money *comes out of your own pockets*? If we can show that the people of Iowa are able, without oppressing themselves, to pay the expenses of a State Gov-

ernment, there is no one, we are confident, so mercenary, or if so, he will not avow it, as to oppose our admission into the Union as a sovereign State, notwithstanding we might be in the receipt of \$150,000 per annum from the General Government to pay our expenses. In illustration of this position, suppose that Iowa was now a sovereign State, and competent to defray the annual expenses of such state government, would the people exchange their privileges as a State, and go *back* to Territorial dependence for \$500,000 per annum? We feel confident that they would not. It is, therefore, we repeat, unimportant to all argument to know the amount necessary to defray our expenses when in the Union, and our resources for so doing.

The expenses of a state government have been variously estimated. The maximum amount which we have seen is \$37,503 per annum. As this is a statement given by an opponent of admission, we will annex the *items* of the sum and then scan and examine them.

Governor with a salary of.....	\$ 1,500
Secretary of State,.....	1,000
Six Judges, aggregate,.....	6,000
Attorney General,	800
Auditor of Public Accounts,.....	800
State Treasurer,	600
A Legislature of 75 members, annual sitting three months, including per diem mileage of members, and incidental expenses,	28,803
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Total,	\$37,503

Now this it will be remembered is the statement of an opponent to admission, and we may be assured his estimate is as high as he could conveniently make it. That it is much too great will be seen at a glance. For instance, he sets down the salary of the Governor at \$1,500 when every man knows that \$1,000 would be ample compensation. It is as much,

may more, than many of the States give their Chief Magistrate, and will enable any one with economy to support his family. \$800 will be largely sufficient for the services of the Secretary of State. It is a matter of great doubt whether the State of Iowa will *immediately* require the services of six Judges; but admitting for the sake of argument, that that number will be requisite, we think that their salaries, \$1,000 per annum, is not extravagant. The office of Attorney General is most frequently a mere sinecure, and might be dispensed with altogether. If it is thought best to retain it \$400 is as much as his services per annum will be worth. Auditor of Public Accounts \$700, and Treasurer may stand as it is. We have heretofore found that the present number of members of the Legislature, (to wit: 39) was sufficiently large to transact the business of the Territory, and we do not believe that the State, for some time at least, will require an increase of members. However to be liberal, we will put down 60. The duration of the session should not exceed, generally, 60 days per annum, as every one who has been a member of the Legislature, especially, well knows. To be more economical we might have biennial sessions, as in the State of Illinois, and then the expense would be reduced one half. Let us recapitulate our statement.

Governor, with a salary of.....	\$ 1,000
Secretary of State,.....	800
Six Judges,	6,000
Attorney General,	400
Auditor,	700
Treasurer,	600
A Legislature of 60 members with annual sittings of 60	
days, at \$3 per diem,.....	10,800
Mileage, incidental, and all other expenses,.....	10,000
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Total,.....	\$30,300 ⁴

⁴ As a matter of fact the salaries of State officers and the compensation of members of the General Assembly as fixed by the Constitution of 1846 were even lower than those suggested in this estimate.—See Constitution of Iowa of

The above we believe to be a very liberal estimate, and we are confident that the state government could be sustained with an expense not greater than the foregoing.

Having fixed the annual expense of the state of Iowa, and admitting *now, for the sake of argument*, that it will be necessary to raise the whole sum by *taxation*—let us inquire into what the capacity and resources of Iowa will be, *two years hence*, the date of our anticipated admission, to pay the above sum of \$30,300 annually. To do this, it is necessary that we should come to some conclusion in relation to the population that the new state will have, at the time of coming into the Union. It will be recollected that when the census was taken in 1836, Iowa had only 12,000 inhabitants. Two years afterwards, (in 1838,) she numbered 22,000; and in 1840 there were 43,000 persons within its territory, thus nearly doubling the population every two years.

Take the same increase in *amount*, and which is the lowest estimate which should be made, and it would give us during the present summer 64 or 65,000 inhabitants, and “*two years hence*” we will have, by the same proportion of increase, the number of 85,000 inhabitants.⁵

It will be found that the foregoing calculation is based upon the increase of population in *amount* alone, and not in *proportion* to the former increase, which would be the proper mode of computation, and by which we would add greatly to our numbers; and upon admission into the Union, at the time before mentioned, we would have a population largely over 100,000 inhabitants.

It may be proper here to say that to judge by the past, the increase in population in Iowa will be in greater proportion

1846, Art. IV, Secs. 25, 34, in Shambaugh's *Documentary Material Relating to the History of Iowa*, Vol. I, pp. 198, 200.

⁵ This estimate was not much too optimistic, for the population of the Territory in 1844 was 75,152.

after admission, than previous to that period. This, at least, has been the history of the Western States. And this increased immigration is another potent inducement for us to hurry into the Union. This influx of immigration is doubtless caused by the belief that the laws are more stable in a State than in a Territory, and that property is more secure under the former than the latter. In connection with this subject of population we here give the statement of the increase of inhabitants in several States, furnished by a friend who has fully examined the subject.

“It is a curious matter of history to review the progress of population in the west, and observe the effect which a permanency in the laws and a fixed system of government has upon the increase and growth of the States, by comparison with the slower growth of the same country under the loose, unsettled and uncertain form of a Territorial Government. The following statement, from authentic sources, will give an idea of this increase, and will also show, at the same time, the relative numbers at the time of admission of each of them :

In 1790, Tennessee came into the Union with	77,262
In 1800, the population had increased	28,340
In 1790, Kentucky contained	73,677
She was separated from Virginia in that year and admitted into the Union in 1792	
In 1800, the population was	220,959
In 1800, Ohio had	45,365
Was made a State in 1802; in 1810 had	230,000
In 1815, Indiana had	60,000
In 1817 was made a State—in 1820 had	147,000
In 1817, Illinois was made a State, with	55,000
In 1830, the population was	157,575
In 1821, Missouri came in, with	45,000
In 1830, the population was	140,455
In 1834, Michigan had	84,000
Was made a State in 1836—in 1837, had	175,000

In 1817, Mississippi came in with a little more than the requisite number.

In 1820, she had	75,000
In 1830, she had	136,000 ^e

Looking, therefore, to the foregoing statement, and observing the embarrassed situation of our neighboring States, and the fact that the fertility of the soil and salubrity of the climate of Iowa, is rapidly being known throughout the Union, we may without hesitation assert that in the summer of 1844, we will have a population of 100,000 or 150,000 inhabitants, a greater number than the States of Tennessee, Illinois, Missouri, Indiana, and Mississippi had when they were admitted into the Union, and a larger number of inhabitants than Delaware or Arkansas has at the present time.

It must also be remembered that our admission will bring into the country a more wealthy class of citizens than we have at present; men who have heretofore felt timid about entrusting their property in a Territory, and thus will the actual wealth of the country be greatly increased. We do not use this language in an invidious sense, for we know that there is no more honest and industrious people than the citizens of Iowa; but it is known to every one that the pioneers of a country, although hardy and persevering, are generally in moderate circumstances, and less loth to share the payment of taxes than their more affluent and less adventurous countrymen. So much for our population on admission.

It is proper that we should also briefly allude to the resources of Iowa, by which the abilities of the people to pay the expenses of a State Government will be apparent. This we confess it will be difficult to do with any accuracy.

^e The population figures in these tables are approximately correct. The dates for the admission of Tennessee, Indiana, and Illinois should be 1796, 1816, and 1818 respectively.

The surplus produce of Iowa — an infallible evidence of wealth — has been increasing almost beyond belief every year. The exports from Burlington alone in 1841, were 410 tons, and the probable amount for the present year will not be far removed from 600 tons. The different kinds of produce so exported are as follows: pork, bacon, beef, lard, wheat, flour, corn, oats, whiskey, live hogs, hides and furs, potatoes, beans and flaxseed. This produce was from Des Moines, Henry, and a part of Jefferson, Washington and Louisa counties. From Fort Madison, Montrose and Keokuck, not less than 600 tons have been exported during the past and present years. Skunk river has floated down large quantities of corn, wheat, flour and pork. The produce of Van Buren, collected principally at Farmington and Keosauqua, was carried down the Des Moines river, and the amount of which we have not been able to ascertain. The counties bordering on the Iowa and Cedar rivers, annually send off many boat loads of pork, corn, &c. The towns of Bloomington, Rockingham, Davenport and Dubuque, are all made depositories for large quantities of produce. Down every river, from every village and hamlet in Iowa, are the products of the soil poured to the Mississippi.

It is impossible for us to say what is the aggregate quantity exported in the Territory, but from the amount shipped from Burlington alone, and the anticipated increase in one year, some estimate may be made of the amount raised in the whole Territory, and what will be the probable increase two years hence when we come into the Union? We are well aware that the low prices realized for produce in the southern market have made no money this year for our farmers but the prospect of the opening of the British ports to our provisions, by the new English tariff which has ere this become a law, will have a powerful influence on the buoyancy of the markets and the increase of prices — Our agricultur-

alists will also in the mean time have turned their attention from the raising of corn and pork, in which they are now too much engaged, and add to their former productions hemp, tobacco, wool, tame grapes and many other crops which will amply reward the toil of the husbandman. Who can tell how abounding in surplus produce of all varieties will Iowa be two years hence, if her farmers progress in improvement as they have done for the time past! But the wealth of our Territory is not confined to the surface, but is also deep hid in the bosom of the earth. Dubuque and many of the other northern counties are not only rich in extensive fields of grain, but produce annually immense quantities of lead from their inexhaustible mines. We regret that we have not in our possession any accurate statistical information on this subject. All that we can say is, that in addition to the mines now worked every day are new discoveries of rich lodes being made which promise to render that portion of the country the richest mineral region in the world. But the mineral wealth of Iowa is not confined to lead alone. Dr. Owen, in his geological report,⁷ says that there is a sufficient quantity of zinc ore in this Territory and Wisconsin to supply the whole U. States, and also for exportation. Iron ore, Dr. O. reports, is found in Iowa "of excellent quality and in unlimited abundance." He thinks that near the Maquoketa a sufficient quantity "of iron ore could be found on the surface alone to supply several iron furnaces for years to come." He adds that "more encouraging or more numerous surface indications of an abundant supply of this useful metal (iron) can hardly offer themselves to the notice of the geologist." Two years will not elapse until enterprise and industry will reap a rich reward from the zinc

⁷ This was doubtless Owen's report of his geological exploration in Iowa, Wisconsin, and Illinois made in 1839, which may be found in *House Executive Documents*, 1st Sess., 26th Congress, No. 239.

and iron mines of Iowa. In view, therefore, of these ample resources, and the prospect of their certain increase, shall we be told that a population of one hundred thousand, or more, inhabitants will be oppressed by a tax of 30,000 per annum? And here it might not be improper to add, that such taxation would be further lightened by being levied *in part* upon the real estate of non-residents not inhabited or cultivated, and which comprizes about the one twentieth of the land in the Territory.

It will be remembered that we admitted for the *sake of argument* the fact that the taxes would be increased on our admission into the Union as a State OVER WHAT THEY ARE AT PRESENT. We contend, however, and will endeavor to prove that our taxes for county and *state* revenue will not when we are admitted, be *greater* than those which we are now paying and have been paying for several years past; and for this we are indebted to the economical legislation of the last Legislative Assembly. We will strive to show *as nearly as practicable* what reduction has been *directly* and *indirectly* made in the *present* taxes of the people. This reduction takes effect fully in the month of August next.

There are, we believe, eighteen organized *counties* in the Territory. Five of them, we assume, levy \$5000 each annually for county and territorial revenue, making \$25,000. Eight raise \$3,000 per annum, amounting to \$24,000; and the remaining five about \$2,000 each year, being \$10,000. The sum total of the above is \$59,000. This is not a high estimate, for we are aware that several of the large and populous counties of the Territory have frequently raised \$6,000 revenue per annum; and all know that the expense of a small and sparsely settled county is in proportion to the population greater than those of a larger one, the number of officers and the machinery of its government being the same. We think, therefore, that 60,000 may be put down as

a low estimate of the amount of county and Territorial revenue raised by the several counties of the Territory, annually. Now heretofore the people have not been oppressed or felt burdened with taxes, and we assert that we can approve [prove] that if we are admitted into the Union as a State even during the present season our taxes would not be greater than they have been for several past years, the reduction of county and Territorial expenses throughout the Territory being at least 30 or 40,000 dollars each year, under the law of the last Legislative Assembly. This sum to wit: 30,000 dollars, we have before clearly shown, is sufficient to defray the charges of a State Government. In order to go partially into the detail we will take for an example one of the largest counties in the Territory. In this the assessment roll has not varied much from 5 or 6,000 dollars annually. Of this amount probably all was collected except the sum of 5 or 600 dollars. Now the fees which have been allowed in this same county to petit jurors in a single year out of the taxes collected off the people, and which are not under the present laws to be paid out of the county or Territorial treasury, were 400 dollars. Grand juries were annually entitled to about 400 dollars. From this deduct one third under the new law and it shows a saving of 130 dollars to the county yearly. The Clerk of the District Court has received out of the county treasury in one year in said county the sum of 350 dollars for services for which under the reforming act of the legislature he will be entitled to 30 dollars. The sheriff annually has been in the receipt of about 450 dollars from the same source in cases where he will hereafter be entitled to only 30 dollars. The sheriff being ex-officio collector of the county revenue was allowed by the law now in force 7 per cent for collection; he will be entitled under the new law for similar services to an average of 4 per centum. This, in the county we have re-

ferred to would be an annual saving of 3 per cent. in collecting. This on the amount above mentioned — 5,500 dollars — would be 165 dollars. In addition to this it will be recollected that the county revenue after the foregoing reduction takes effect will necessarily be of small amount and the charges of the collector much less than they are at present. There are miscellaneous services which the sheriff performs, and for which frequently large sums have been allowed by the county commissioners, but which are now restricted to a maximum of 50 dollars per annum. In the county before mentioned 300 dollars and upwards have been paid out of the county revenue in one year to the Judges and Clerks of the elections.— This amount will be now saved because those duties under the new laws are imposed on the trustees of the several townships, and for which no compensation is authorized. The county commissioners are so restricted by the new act relating to their courts in the number and duration of their sessions general and special, and their pay, that 100 dollars at least per annum will be cut off from the former expenses. The item, too, of “miscellaneous expenditures”— that vortex which has heretofore swallowed up so great a portion of county revenue, will be heard of no longer. Every item of expenditure must be set forth and published. A sum as great as 400 dollars has been allowed in a single year to the county commissioners’ clerk; but by the provisions of the new statute stating the exact amount he shall be entitled to for the duties he performs 200 dollars will be saved to the county treasury annually. The sum of 450 dollars has been paid out in one year to Justices of the Peace and Constables in criminal cases. This amount, which came out of the taxes of the people, will no longer be allowed after August next. These officers are entitled to no fees out of the county revenue except in cases where the officer goes out of his county

to arrest a prisoner. For this saving we may set down 400 dollars. The sums which the county has frequently paid for witnesses fees in criminal cases have been very great — 400 per annum would be a fair average amount. These, the law before recited provides, shall not be paid by the county.

There are many other items of expenditure out of the treasury of the county saved by the late laws, but which to examine would require too much time.—Those who desire full information on the subject may obtain it by referring to the acts passed by the last Legislative Assembly, and more especially examining the one relative to “costs and fees.”^s

Let us now recapitulate our statements, and see how much is saved annually to the county treasury of the county we before referred to.

Petit Jurors	\$400.00
Grand do.	130.00
Clerks' fees	320.00
Sheriffs' do.	420.00
Sheriffs' do. as collector	165.00
Judges and Clerks of Elections	300.00
County Commissioners	100.00
“ “ Clerk	200.00
Justices and Constables fees in criminal cases paid by county	400.00
Witnesses in same paid as above	400.00
Total	<hr/> \$2835.00

From the foregoing statement, we may confidently assert, taking into consideration the reduction of other expenditures not here mentioned, that the saving annually to the county referred to, will not vary much from 3,000 dollars — being one half of the whole amount of former assessments.

^s *Laws of the Territory of Iowa, 1841-1842*, pp. 51-56 . See also pp. 80, 81, 116-118 for laws providing for a reduction in the expenses of the Territorial government.

For proof that the foregoing calculation is substantially correct, we call the attention of our fellow citizens to the laws above recited, and the records of the District and County Commissioners courts of the several large counties of the Territory. Now it is fair to say that the expenses of other counties will be reduced in proportion to those of the county to which reference has been made, to wit:— one half, and therefore estimating the whole amount of assessment in Iowa at 60,000 dollars per annum, we will have under the new laws a reduction of 30,000 dollars each year — a sum sufficient, as we have before stated, to support a State Government. Thus we think, we have shown that even if admitted into the Union *during the present year*, we would with our *present population*, be enabled to raise the revenues necessary for a state government, without increasing the taxes which we have been paying for years past without complaint. If this be so, how much more able and competent will we be, with the number of inhabitants Iowa will contain two years hence to defray all the requisite expenses after our admission into the Union?

It will be observed that in the foregoing statement, we have only alluded to sums paid out of the county treasury, and which consequently came directly off the people. The citizens of this Territory have heretofore been taxed enormously in the shape of officer's fees. These the last Legislature have largely reduced.— We will show how great this reduction is as an evidence of the ability of the people now to raise revenue by their having for years past paid large sums to the ministerial officers of the courts and others, and which they hereafter will not be required to do. We will again refer to the county before alluded to. In this county, the fees which the Clerk of the district court received from individual suitors, who compose the great body of tax payers, have been almost \$15 or \$1600 annually. This sum

under the new law is reduced at least \$700 per annum. The Sheriff's fees in the same county have been worth \$1800 or \$2000, and from this deduct 40 per cent, and it makes a change in the amount in one year of \$800; so that in these two offices we have a reduction of 15 or 1600 dollars annually in one county in taxes paid indirectly by the people. But these are not the only officers whose fees have been reduced. The fees of Coroners, Masters in Chancery, Justices of the Peace, Constables, Notaries Public, Judges of Probate and County Surveyors, have all been lowered at least 30 per cent. less than formerly allowed. About these offices, of course it is impossible to make any calculation. We cannot believe that it would be too high an estimate, were we to say 4 or 5000 dollars thus paid by citizens annually were cut off from their expenses in the county before mentioned. From the foregoing, some idea may be formed of the aggregate amount saved each year to individuals by the provisions of the new laws, and thus exhibit the means of the people, even at present to support a State Government, and foreshow what their abundant resources will be two years hence. We contend, further, in connection with this subject, that the laws passed by the last Legislative Assembly, and before referred to, were but the commencement of economy, and that county expenses may be yet further diminished. As an evidence that the fees prescribed by the late laws are not too low, we observe that many of those who held office under the high fee system are candidates again for similar places under the low fee laws. Now we are aware that it will be asserted by the opponents of a Convention, that as the reduction of the direct and indirect expenses of the people will be similar under a State Government, it would be well for them to remain free from the payment of the former high fees, &c., and the expense of a State Government also. This is a fitting and proper argument to be directed to men

who have no desire at all for political freedom, and would be as cogent when we have 300,000 inhabitants as at present. The true question to be propounded is this:— can the people of Iowa take upon them the expenses of a State Government two years hence without feeling that such expenses are oppressive? We have, in the foregoing statements, endeavored to show that [they] can, because they have been paying for several years past, without being burdened, taxes as high and perhaps higher than will be levied under a State Government. The man who is fully satisfied with this argument must have some sinister motives impelling him to a contrary course, or he is one who will ever be opposed to a State Government, and is deeply enamoured with our present situation of colonial dependence.

The distribution act of the last session of Congress, if not repealed, or the distribution under it suspended, promise[s] some pecuniary advantages to Iowa after admission into the Union. Let us inquire how far such promises will probably be realized. This act provides that several of the Western and South Western States shall receive “over and above what each of said States is entitled to by the terms of the compact entered into between them and the United States, upon their admission into the Union, the sum of ten per centum upon the nett proceeds of the sales of the public lands which shall be made within the limits of each of said States respectively.” By the provisions of the 5th Section of said act, any new State may receive the proportion of the proceeds of sales of public lands after their admission to which such State shall be entitled upon the principles of the act aforesaid. Under this act also, when, after deducting the ten per cent. aforesaid, sundry expenses are paid out of the proceeds of the sales aforesaid, the net proceeds are to be divided among the States and Territories according to their respective federal representative population. This

amount we receive as well while a Territory as after our admission into the Union as a State.

Now, provided the above recited act shall not be repealed, or the distribution under it suspended until our admission into the Union, Iowa will receive from the ten per cent. fund, at a low estimate about 10,00[0] per annum. This calculation is based upon the assumption that no new purchase will be made from the Indians, and therefore that only 100,000 dollars worth of lands will be disposed in the Territory annually after Iowa becomes a State. If a new purchase should be effected, and which is most probable, it would not be too high to say that 250,000 dollars worth of land would be sold in the Territory annually for six or seven years after it come into market. Ten per cent on this amount would yield 25,000 annually. The amount which we now, and will after our admission, receive according to our federal representative population, in common with all the states, on the above sums, to-wit, 100,000 and 250,000, would amount from 2,000 to 6,000 per annum. The amount thus due to the Territory for 1841 has been estimated at 2,375, and is payable to the Territory on the 1st of the present month. By act of the last legislative assembly the Treasurer of the Territory is authorized to receive the same.

The act above referred to further provides that each new State, on admission, shall receive the munificent donation of 500,000 acres of land for internal improvements. Lands might be selected even at present to make out the above amount worth at least 2 50 per acre. If a purchase of country was made from the Indians, the selected lands would be worth 3 50 per acre. This shows the great importance of gaining admission at an early date in order that we may have an opportunity of selecting the choice lands of any new purchase which may be made, and thus add 500,000, at least to the resources of the new State for internal improvements.

Now we are aware that it may be contended that we will receive the above mentioned 500,000 acres at any future day on our admission into the Union. This may be true, but are we not every day losing the use of this magnificent fund? Let us endeavor to make a practical illustration of our annual loss on this fund by not going [into] the Union and consequently not having it under our control.

500 000 acres of land at \$3 50 [\$2.50] per acre	\$1,250,000
	3

This amount at 3 per cent per annum	\$37,500,00
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Thus we see that by a moderate estimate we decline to receive at least 37,000 every year we stay out of the Union.

It is but fair to say however that there is a possibility that the Distribution Act will soon be either repealed or its operation suspended, many of the statesmen of the country esteeming it only as a means of distributing money to the same people from whom the same amount is collected in the shape of prices paid for articles of consumption, adding thereto the fees for such collection. Others are desirous that the proceeds of the sales of the public lands shall be retained in the national treasury for the payments, so far as they may go, of the national debt, which has recently accrued. It is very probable, too, that the duty on imports will soon be raised higher than 20 per cent at which time, and in which event the distribution under the above named law ceases. On the other hand it may be said that a powerful party are determined to sustain the law and repeal the section suspending its operation. There is one thing certain, that if the act is repealed, Iowa will, on admission, receive the 500,000 acres of land for internal improvements. Missouri and Illinois are selecting or have selected their lands under the act aforesaid, and we presume Congress will not extend more partiality to one State than to another.

We may therefore say that the only certain benefit which Iowa will receive under the law above recited is the 500,000 acres of land for internal improvements, and the use of which we are daily losing.

The control and *use* of the school lands it has been frequently and well said were great inducements for our admission into the Union. No system of common schools can go into healthful operation without a competent and substantial fund. We know it has been contended that common schools might be established under our present government, but a refutation is given to this assertion by the fact that although we have a law upon that subject, yet it has remained perfectly dead among our statutes. So well satisfied were the legislative assembly, too, of this fact that they, at the last session, abolished the office of Superintendant of Common Schools, and would, if it had been proposed, repealed the whole law upon the subject. The repeal of the statute providing for appointment of a Superintendant took place not on account of any objection to the officer, who was acknowledged by all to be competent and indefatigable in the discharge of his duties, but because the want of funds suspended the vitality of the system. The whole amount of school lands within the surveyed portion of the Territory is *about* 200 000 acres — two thirds of which are of the first quality. The whole is worth an average price of \$2 per acre — making a school fund within our present limits of \$400 000. Now, as we before observed in relation to the lands appropriated to the States under the *distribution act*, we admit that Iowa will be entitled to this amount of school lands *at any future time*, on admission into the Union but the *use* the *benefit*, arising from the sales, the rentals, &c., of these lands are lost to us as a *Territory*. Perhaps it would be going too far to say that we would receive any income from the above source for a year or two after admis-

sion — but it is certain, that every day we remain out of the Union so much the further in advance is placed the term when the benefits arising from the school lands will be realized. We said that the school lands of Iowa at present might be valued at \$400 000. Now it is a fair argument to say that the *use* of this amount is worth 3 per cent. per annum, which would give a yearly interest of \$12 000, of which we now are annually deprived. This, we know, is a *very low estimate*, but it would be a sufficient sum to constitute a *nucleus* for a permanent school fund, and would give life and activity to our present dormant system. Another estimate on this subject, much higher than the one which we have given, has been handed to us, but as it is from a gentleman who has fully examined the subjects, we here insert it. “The average worth of the 200 000 acres of school lands would at the end of two years from this time (the date of our anticipated admission) be not less than \$2 50 per acre, or \$500,000 in all. The amount would be all the while increasing with our successive acquisitions of Indian lands. This money might be made to produce a nett income of at least 12 per cent, or \$60,000 per annum — twice the annual cost of a State Government. Now the number of children in the Territory at the last census between the ages of five and fifteen years was 5,000, or less than 14 per cent of the whole population. At the time of our admission two years hence, our population being over 100,000, we shall probably have 14,000 or upwards between those ages within the limits of the Territory. Suppose them to number 15,000. The interest on the school fund will then amount to four dollars each — sufficient under a proper school organization, to afford the means of instruction to every child in the Territory for the period of ten years.”

None will hesitate to acknowledge the invaluable benefits flowing from common schools. The College and academy,

where the higher branches of learning are taught, fall far below the importance of that humble though more potent means of disseminating knowledge — the common school. The one, like the majestic river administering to the wealth and prosperity of one portion of the country, would soon fail if it were not for the innumerable rivulets — the common schools — which swell its waters, and, like the rains of heaven, irrigate alike the fields of the rich and the poor.

The several States on admission into the Union, have received by special compact with the United States, five per cent. of the proceeds of the lands sold within their limits. This, on \$250,000, the amount we have supposed would be realized if an Indian purchase was made, would be about \$12,000. This fund has heretofore been applied, by the compact above mentioned, to internal improvements and school purposes. As the 500,000 acres of land which Iowa will receive under the *distribution act* would be amply sufficient, if properly managed, for internal improvements, the portion of the said fund heretofore used for internal improvements, might be made subject to the control of the legislature of the State, and applied to the payment of the government expenses. The *use* of this fund we are also losing by remaining a Territory. It will be remembered, too, that even if the whole five per cent. fund should be applied to the improvement of roads, bridges &c. it will, *so far as it goes*, lighten the road taxes of the people, and thus render them more able to pay taxes for the support of a State government, if requisite. It has been contended by some of the opponents of a State government that the five per cent. fund was given to the States on condition that the lands sold within such States should not be taxed for five years after their sale to individuals, and that thus the amount of taxable property in the Territory would not be very great for that period. Missouri is pointed to as an example of this

fact. Now this argument was evidently used by one who did not understand the subject. Lands were exempted from taxation for five years after their entry at the land offices in Missouri, Illinois and Indiana, because at the time when those States came into the Union, the public domain was sold on a *credit* and the money was required to be paid in installments, which could not be accomplished in less than five years. In the event of any such instalment becoming due and remaining unpaid the land reverted to the United States. Of course therefore the general government made provision for the *nontaxation* of lands which might probably again become its property. This credit system was abolished twenty years ago, and the reason having ceased a similar enactment has never been made admitting States since that time. Neither Arkansas nor Michigan exempts land from taxation — but in both those States it is subject to pay taxes from date of sale.

To go into a detailed examination of the liberal donations made to the several States upon admission, and the *use* of which we are now daily deprived, would lengthen this address already too much extended. Those who feel, as every citizen should, an interest in this subject, can refer to the acts of Congress admitting Michigan, Arkansas, &c. into the Union, and satisfy themselves on this subject.

We have spoken at some length on the mere pecuniary advantages which would result to Iowa after admission. There are other benefits which would flow from a State organization much greater, and we deem them of higher importance than all others. These we are compelled, for the sake of brevity, merely to refer to. The character of the State abroad — the weight and influence of our representation in Congress — would be greatly increased by admission. This influence is of the greatest importance to us at the present time. It would aid us to effect a new pur-

chase of Indian lands. It would aid us to procure an appropriation to improve the navigation of the Mississippi over or around the Rapids, by canal or otherwise. It would aid us in effecting a permanent settlement of our southern boundary question. It would aid us in placing under the immediate control of the State Government all conflicting claims of boundary and title. It is impossible in a single address to refer particularly to all the advantages of a State, and the disadvantages of a Territorial government. A single illustration will prove the great hardships the people have to suffer under the present organic law. This law fixes the jurisdiction of justices of the peace at a maximum, of 50 dollars. The legislative assembly has petitioned Congress again and again, for the extension of this jurisdiction but in vain — The people are still compelled to bear all the expense of a suit in the District Court where their demand is over the sum of fifty dollars. From this single instance, learn all.

We have confined ourselves to an argument in favor of a State government two years hence, but we must not forget to state that if the people one year hence are dissatisfied with the Constitution adopted by the Convention, provided one should be called, and become convinced that it would be well to defer the application for admission, they can then vote against the Constitution and reject it.

Some of the counties of the Territory may not be so far advanced in wealth and prosperity as others, and may therefore feel disposed to oppose our admission — but if they can be assured that a large majority of our citizens, which is the fact, will be benefited by the change, they should not hesitate to give in their support. They should remember that our interests are the same, and that to use the beautiful language of another, “though divided as the billows, we are one as the sea.”

We have now arrived at the conclusion of our address, and we earnestly entreat our fellow citizens that they give the important question which they will be called upon to decide in August next a thorough investigation — and we know they will go unanimously for — “CONVENTION”

SUNDRY TAX PAYERS.

SOME PUBLICATIONS

The Life of George Augustus Gates. By ISABEL SMITH GATES. Boston: The Pilgrim Press. 1915. Pp. xii, 78. Portraits. This little volume will receive a warm welcome from hundreds of the former students and associates of President Gates in the three educational institutions over which he presided. His longest period of service was at Grinnell College, from 1887 to 1900, and it was here that in many respects his greatest work was done. From 1901 to 1909 he was president of Pomona College in California; and from 1909 to 1912 he was at the head of Fisk University in Tennessee. He died in 1912 as the result of a railway accident.

The book opens with a tribute to President Gates, written by Professor Jesse Macy of Grinnell College, who says that "Dr. Gates' utter, self-forgetting devotion to his high calling as preacher of righteousness and herald of the truth — *all* the truth that had been revealed to him — shows us the dominant note in his life and character." Mrs. Gates then relates in a clear and simple manner the main features of her husband's career as an educator. The chapter on life at Grinnell College is a valuable contribution to the history of education in Iowa, where President Gates exerted a wide and wholesome influence.

The Iowa State Federation of Labor. By LORIN STUCKEY, Ph. D. (*Studies in the Social Sciences*, University of Iowa, Vol. IV, No. 3.) Iowa City: The State University of Iowa. 1916. Pp. 147. Map. This monograph, in a sense, breaks new ground for, as the author states in the preface, "the State has rarely been taken as the unit for the scientific study of the labor movement in America." Moreover, the author has had access to and has made use of original source materials which have enabled him to present an intimate study of the history, purposes, and accomplishments of the Iowa State Federation of Labor.

In an introduction Dr. Stuckey briefly surveys the history of the Knights of Labor, an organization which in Iowa as in the country at large exerted considerable influence in politics during the eighties; and discusses the main features of the history of trade unionism in Iowa down to 1893. Chapter one contains a narrative history of the State Federation of Labor, including its origin, growth, and leaders, among whom may be mentioned Mr. A. E. Holder, Mr. A. L. Urick, and Mr. J. H. Strief. In chapter two may be found a digest of the most important features of the annual convention of the Federation from 1893 to 1914, wherein are clearly reflected the changing methods, policies, and purposes of the organization. The third chapter deals with the structure and government of the Federation under such topics as membership, finances, the officers and their powers, the initiative and referendum, and the relation of the Federation to its constituent elements.

Chapter four treats of the policies of the Federation, both as regards its own internal organization and methods and its attitude toward such problems as convict labor, industrial education, the liquor question, immigration, woman suffrage, and socialism. "Many of the principles advocated by the Federation are now matters of public policy," says Dr. Stuckey in the closing paragraph of this chapter, "and its general attitude of careful, judicious and progressive activity has placed it in the forefront of history-making institutions in the State of Iowa." The fifth chapter reveals the fact that the Federation was an important factor in securing the enactment of the compulsory education, child labor, and workmen's compensation laws, as well as exercising much influence in favor of other legislation in the interests of labor. Special attention should be called to a map of Iowa showing the location of the various labor unions in this State. An appendix contains the constitution of the Iowa State Federation of Labor; and following this there appear the notes and references to the source materials on which the study is based, as well as a classified bibliography, and an index.

Dr. Stuckey has produced a thorough piece of work, which should stimulate investigators to researches into various other phases of the labor movement in this and other Commonwealths.

Recollections of a Long Life, 1829-1915. By ISAAC STEPHENSON. Chicago: Privately printed. 1915. Pp. 264. Portraits, plates. Mr. Stephenson writes truly when he states in his preface that there "are few men living who have had so varied, certainly so long, a career". Students of Mississippi Valley history will be grateful to him for thus leaving a record of his experiences. Accounts of this kind are all too scarce: they present pictures of the life of the people such as are not to be found elsewhere.

Isaac Stephenson was born in 1829 in New Brunswick. There and in Maine his youth was spent in the environment of the great lumber industry of that period. He came to Wisconsin in 1845 and landed at Milwaukee, then little more than a frontier village. In the years that followed he witnessed the growth of "the early settlements along Green Bay and the northern peninsula of Michigan struggling for foothold on the verge of what seemed to be almost illimitable forests", and he worked with the pioneers of that region "exploring the forests, in the logging camps, on the rivers and at the mills, and sailed with them on Lake Michigan as seaman, mate, and master." Not only does Mr. Stephenson write of his busy life as a lumberman, shipper, banker, and of his interest and participation in other lines of business, but he also tells of his political career in Wisconsin, which State, as is well known, he has represented in both houses of Congress. Especially interesting in this connection is his account of his relations with Senator La Follette.

The book is well printed and bound. Unfortunately there is no index — a lack which is particularly to be deplored in a volume which contains so many references to incidents in the careers of persons with whom the author was connected or acquainted.

The National Municipal League has prepared and published a pamphlet entitled *A Model City Charter and Municipal Home Rule*.

Volume one, number one of the *Journal of the National Institute of Social Sciences* has appeared. Among the many papers which it contains may be mentioned an *Economic and Political Summary of the Generation Just Closing*, by William H. Taft.

Fort Duquesne and Fort Pitt is the title of a neat booklet published by the Daughters of the American Revolution of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania.

Sylvanus Griswold Morley is the author of *An Introduction to the Study of the Maya Hieroglyphs*, which appears as *Bulletin 57* of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

The *Annual Magazine Subject-Index 1915*, edited by Frederick W. Faxon and published by the Boston Book Company, contains among other things references to the materials in the periodical publications of the various historical societies in the United States for the year indicated.

Bulletin 62 published by the Bureau of American Ethnology consists of a study of the *Physical Anthropology of the Lenape or Delawares, and of the Eastern Indians in General*, by Ales Hrdlicka.

Margaret B. Stillwell is the compiler of a *Checklist of Eulogies and Funeral Orations on the Death of George Washington*, which appears in the May number of the *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*.

The *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, volume fifty-five, number four, contains a *Symposium in International Law: Its Origin, Obligation and Future*, the participants being John Bassett Moore, Charlemagne Tower, George Grafton Wilson, Philip Marshall Brown, and David Jayne Hill.

In the *Journal of the United States Cavalry Association* for April there is a brief article on *The Beginning of the American Cavalry*, by C. D. Rhodes.

In the April number of *The South Atlantic Quarterly* there may be found, among others, the following contributions: *Recent Educational Progress*, by Clyde Furst; another installment of *Letters of a Virginia Cadet at West Point, 1859-1861*, edited by Kate Mason Rowland; a continuation of the study of *Reconstruction and Education in Virginia*, by Edgar W. Knight; and *National Safety of the United States, Past and Future*, by George M. Dutcher.

The April number of the *Smith College Studies in History* contains the concluding chapters of Laura J. Webster's study of *The Operation of the Freedmen's Bureau in South Carolina*.

A Statute for Promoting Fraud, by Francis M. Burdick; *The Sheriff's Return*, by Edson R. Sunderland; and the second part of a study of *The Doctrine of an Inherent Right of Local Self-Government*, by Howard Lee McBain, are articles in the April number of the *Columbia Law Review*.

Among the articles in *The Yale Review* for April are the following: *President Wilson's Administration*, by Moorfield Storey; *The War and American Democracy*, by Wilbur C. Abbott; *Charles Sumner*, by Gamaliel Bradford; *The Federal Valuation of Railroads*, by Morrell W. Gaines; and *Emerson and his Journals*, by Henry A. Beers.

The Problem of Unemployment Today, by W. M. Leiserson; *Single-Tax Movement in Oregon*, by James H. Gilbert; *Land Tenure Reform and Democracy*, by George E. Putnam; *The Presidential Primary in Oregon*, by James D. Barnett; and *Effects of Woman's Suffrage on the Political Situation in the City of Chicago*, by Fred W. Eckert, are among the articles in the March number of the *Political Science Quarterly*.

Among the contributions in *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* for May are the following: *Minimum Wages for Women*, by F. W. Taussig; and *The Extent of Labor Organization in the United States in 1910*, by Leo Wolman, the latter article being supplemented by an appendix containing some statistics of labor organizations in the year indicated.

The following articles are among those published in *The History Teacher's Magazine* for April: *Changing Conceptions in History*, by Dana C. Munro; *The Civic View of Teaching History*, by George W. Eddy; *Mutual Opinions of North and South 1851-1854*, contributed by Albert H. Sanford; and *How to Teach the History of the West in American History*, by Howard W. Caldwell. In the May number Ida Carleton Thallon suggests *Some Relations between*

Archaeology and History; and Isaac J. Cox discusses *The European Background for the High School Course in American History*. Frank Heywood Hodder writes on *The Purchase of Louisiana* in the June number.

Beginning with last January the magazine known as *Americana* is issued quarterly instead of monthly. Among the articles in the January number are: *The Example of Washington in New Jersey in the Revolution as a Living Force in our National Life To-day*, by Josiah C. Pumpelly; and *Tavern Amusements in Eighteenth Century America*, by Ruth E. Painter. The following are among the contributions in the April number: *Cato's Tavern*, by Hopper Striker Mott; *The Burr-Hamilton Duel*, by William W. Brewton; and *The Beaver as a Factor in the Development of New England*, by H. L. Babcock.

An interesting book in the series known as *The American Books*, published by Doubleday, Page and Company and sold at sixty cents a volume, is one by Charles A. Eastman (Ohiyesa), entitled *The Indian To-day: The Past and Future of the First American*. The high reputation of the author will in itself insure the book a careful reading by all those interested in the American Indian and his problem. The reader can scarcely fail to be impressed with the thorough knowledge, as well as the sanity and broad-mindedness, which Dr. Eastman reveals in this very readable little book. The eleven chapters, all brief and to the point, deal with the Indian as he was, the how and why of Indian wars, the agency system, the new Indian policy, the Indian in school, the Indian at home, the Indian as a citizen, the Indian in college and the professions, the Indian's health problem, native arts and industries, and the Indian's gifts to the nation.

The Military Historian and Economist for April opens with the first installment of a discussion of *Lieutenant-General Grant's Campaign of 1864-65*, by Willey Howell, who points out the fact that "General Grant's mind was working along the lines of economic strategy — that special strategical view-point which regards the hostile people and their resources as the real enemy and the hostile

armies as mere obstacles in the way of attacking the resources." The article is accompanied by a large map — a copy of the one used by General Grant. There are also several articles dealing with different aspects of the present war in Europe.

The May number of *The American Political Science Review* is issued in three parts. Part one contains the usual number of articles and the customary notes and bibliographical data. Among the articles are the following: *Nationalism in the British Empire*, by A. Maurice Low; *Judicial Determinations by Administrative Commissions*, by Charles W. Needham; "Government Contests" Before the *Administrative Tribunals of the Land Department*, by Philip P. Wells; *The Land Department as an Administrative Tribunal*, by Charles R. Pierce; and *Standardization of Salaries and Grades in Civil Service*, by Robert Moses. The *Legislative Notes and Reviews*, conducted by John A. Lapp, deal with the initiative and referendum in 1915, administration and supervision of State charities and corrections, mechanical registration of legislative votes, the secret ballot in Argentine, and the city-manager plan. Part two contains the general report of the committee on academic freedom and academic tenure; while in part three may be found a list of the members of the American Political Science Association.

Rural Economy in New England at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century is the subject of an interesting study by Percy Wells Bidwell, which was published in April in the *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*. The inland towns and their village settlements, the coast and river towns, commercial relations of southern New England with the southern States and the West Indies, internal trade and the transportation system, the agricultural industry, and home and community life in the inland town are the phases of the subject discussed in the various chapters.

Beginning with the January-March number, *The Journal of American History* appears as the official organ of the recently organized National Historical Society, of which Mr. Frank Allaben is the president and editor-in-chief. The articles of incorporation of the Society may be found in the opening pages. The editor also

discusses *The National Historical Society and the Splendid Memorial Building to be Erected in Honor of the First President of the United States by the George Washington Memorial Association*. There is a lengthy, illustrated article by Henry H. Humphreys on *Who Built the First United States Navy?* The remainder of the *Journal* is taken up with lists of the founders of the National Historical Society, and of the members of and contributors to the George Washington Memorial Association, among whom are many Iowans.

Beginning with the January-March number the periodical formerly known as *The Quarterly Journal of the Society of American Indians* appears under a somewhat more popular name: *The American Indian Magazine*. Among the contents may be mentioned a discussion of *The Functions of the Society of American Indians*, by the editor, Arthur C. Parker; *The American Indian as a Warrior*, by Gawasa Wanneh; *The Indian, the Country and the Government: A Plea for an Efficient Indian Service*, by Arthur C. Parker; and *The Remnants of the Powhatan Tribe*, by Philip B. Gordon. A supplement to this number consists of a fine-spirited proclamation of Sherman Coolidge, president of the Society of American Indians, designating the second Saturday in May of each year as "American Indian Day", and calling upon "every person of American Indian ancestry to specially observe this day as one set apart as a memorial to the Red Race of America and to a wise consideration of its future."

Public Administration and Partisan Politics is the general topic of discussion in the March number of *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. The various papers, written by George Haven Putnam, Chester Lloyd Jones, John A. Dunaway, Richard S. Childs, John A. Lapp, Simon N. Patten, Charles A. Beard, and others, are grouped into three parts devoted to the cost of partisan politics in the work of government, movements to free public administration from partisan politics, and public policies in a responsible government. A supplement to this number of the *Annals* contains an index to that publication since 1890. The May number is devoted to *Personnel and Employment Problems*.

The place of the human element in industrial management; the functionalized employment department; unnecessary hiring and firing of employes; the securing, selection and assigning of employes; and the employe at work are the topics under which the subject is discussed. A supplement to this number contains a study of the methods of *Steadying Employment*, by Joseph H. Willits.

Series thirty-four, number two of the *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science* contains a monograph by Lindsay Rogers on *The Postal Power of Congress: A Study in Constitutional Expansion*. The seven chapters deal with the antecedents of the power, the power of Congress to establish postoffices, the power of Congress to establish postroads, limitations on the postal power, the power of the States to interfere with the mails, the extension of federal control over postroads, and the extension of federal control through exclusion from the mails.

A discussion of *Professional Standards and Professional Ethics in the New Profession of City Manager*, with Richard S. Childs as the leader, appears in the opening pages of the *National Municipal Review* for April. Other long articles are: *Mayor Baker's Administration in Cleveland*, by C. C. Arbuthnot; *The Progress of Municipal Home Rule in Ohio*, by Mayo Fesler; and *Proportional Representation: A Fundamental or a Fad?*, by Herman G. James. Among the shorter articles may be mentioned: *What is Civic Education?*, by Edward A. Fitzpatrick; *Civics: The Art of Citizenship*, by E. Mabel Skinner; *Educating the Rural Legislator*, by William C. Culkins; and *Growth of Urban Population in the United States as Compared with Other Lands*, by Murray Gross.

WESTERN AMERICANA

Davy Crockett is a book by W. C. Sprague, published by the Macmillan Company in its series of *True Stories of Great Americans*.

The March number of the *Bulletin of the Indiana State Library* contains brief biographical data concerning *The Governors of Indiana*, prepared by Harlow Lindley.

Dr. F. H. Garver is the writer of two articles on *Historical Sites of Montana* which appeared in the February and April numbers of *The Inter-Mountain Educator*.

Volume nine of the *Publications of the American Ethnological Society* contains a number of *Kickapoo Tales*, collected by William Jones and translated by Truman Michelson.

Fred L. Holmes is the author of a volume on the *Regulation of Railroads and Public Utilities in Wisconsin* which has been brought out by D. Appleton and Company.

The Board of State Charities of Indiana has issued an illustrated volume of about one hundred pages by Amos W. Butler entitled *A Century of Progress: A Study of the Development of Public Charities and Correction, 1790-1915*.

R. D. O'Leary is the writer of a tribute to *Professor George Edward Patrick* which is printed in *The Graduate Magazine of the University of Kansas* for May. Lucius E. Sayre contributes a brief review of *Thirty Years of Changes*. In the June number there is an address on *The Mississippi Valley and Civilization*, by Stuart Henry.

The Indiana State Board of Forestry has published an *Arbor and Bird Day Manual*, compiled by E. A. Gladden, in which special attention is paid to the Indiana centennial which is being celebrated this year.

Of special interest in the *Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Curators of the Louisiana State Museum* is the summary of the progress made by the Department of Louisiana History and Archives during the past year.

Special Libraries for June contains a bibliography of *Direct Labor Versus Contract System in Municipal Work*, compiled by Harry A. Rider.

Volume nine, number three of the *Nebraska Academy of Sciences Publications* is devoted to *Folk-Songs of Nebraska and the Central West: a Syllabus*, by Louise Pond.

Edward A. Fitzpatrick is the editor of a new periodical called *The Public Servant*, which is issued monthly, except in July and August, at Madison, Wisconsin, as the official organ of the Society for the Promotion of Training for Public Service.

Albert Ernest Jenks is the author of *Indian-White Amalgamation: An Anthropometric Study*, which constitutes number six of the *Studies in the Social Sciences* published by the University of Minnesota.

Two recent numbers of the *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* consist of a monograph on *The Delineation of the Day-signs in the Aztec Manuscripts*, by T. T. Waterman; and a briefer study of *California Place Names of Indian Origin*, by A. L. Kroeber.

The Need of a Constitutional Convention in Minnesota is pointed out by William A. Schaper in the April number of *Minnesota Municipalities*.

Among the many publications called forth by the centennial anniversary which is being celebrated this summer in all parts of Indiana is *An Invitation to You and your Folks from Jim and some More of the Home Folks*, compiled by George Ade for the Indiana Historical Commission and published by the Bobbs-Merrill Company.

The January number of *The Ohio Bulletin of Charities and Correction* is devoted entirely to a compendium of the laws of Ohio relating to benevolent and correctional institutions, boards and officers, and to kindred subjects.

Old Santa Fe for April opens with another installment of Charles Wilson Hackett's study of *Otermin's Attempt to Reconquer New Mexico, 1681-1682*. Other contributions are: *The Story of the Santa Rita Copper Mine*, by John M. Sully; and *The Proposed "National Park of the Cliff Cities"*, by Edgar L. Hewett.

A brief sketch of the unique career of *Johnny Appleseed: A Pioneer Orchardist* has been written and published in pamphlet form

by E. R. Smith, president of the Indiana Apple Show Commission. "Johnny Appleseed brought us the apple tree", says the writer, "and taught our forefathers how to grow and develop it. The retelling of the story of his work is a simple tribute to his memory, the placing of a flower on his grave, as it were, by those who are now trying to extend the work he began a hundred years ago."

Volume five, number one of the *University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences*, published in March, consists of a monograph on *The Enforcement of International Law Through Municipal Law in the United States*, by Philip Quincy Wright. The work is divided into four parts, devoted to obligations in time of peace, obligations as a neutral toward belligerents, obligations as a belligerent toward neutrals, and obligations as a belligerent toward enemies.

An excellent address on *The Library and the Modern University*, by Jay William Judson, appears in *The University of Missouri Bulletin* for May. The importance of the historical viewpoint is one of the ideas emphasized in the address. "Let us hope", says Dr. Judson, "that the new and widespread study of the great problems thru their geneses will mean a new historic consciousness which will give us that logic of history fundamentally required by democracy's tasks."

The Commonwealth Review of the University of Oregon, edited by F. G. Young, is a new and promising periodical which made its appearance in January. Among the articles in this number are the following: *A Proposed School of Commonwealth Service*, by Edwin Clyde Robbins; *The Reorganization of the State Administration of Oregon*, by James D. Barnett; *Reorganization of County Administration for Economy and Efficiency*, by Rufus C. Holman; and *Salient Principles of a Modern City Charter*, by Benjamin C. Sheldon.

Inefficiency of Municipal Ownership, by W. J. Grambs; *Efficiency of Municipal Ownership*, by J. D. Ross; *Public Ownership and Operation of Water and Rail Terminal Facilities*, by Robert Bridges; and *Work of a Public Utilities Department*, by A. L. Valentine, are articles in the April number of *Washington Municipali-*

ties, published at Seattle by the University of Washington Extension Division.

An important source for the early history of the Southwest has been made generally accessible by the private publication in Chicago recently of *The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides 1630*, translated by Mrs. Edward E. Ayer and annotated by Frederick W. Hodge and Charles F. Lummis. This memorial was first printed in 1630 and one of the few original copies in existence is in the private library of Mr. Edward E. Ayer of Chicago. "Benavides was an eye-witness and a part of the history-making era he records", says Mr. Lummis in an introduction. "He was an honest chronicler, though an enthusiastic one — a religious 'promoter,' as it were." In addition to the translation the volume contains a facsimile reproduction of the Spanish text of the memorial. The book is beautifully illustrated and is a handsome product of the printer's art.

Published in November, 1915, in the *University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences* is a monograph on the *History of the Illinois Central Railroad to 1870*, by Howard Gray Brownson. The seven chapters deal with Illinois in 1850, the land grant and charter, the construction of the charter lines, construction and development from 1857 to 1870, traffic from 1857 to 1870, finances of construction and operation from 1851 to 1870, and conclusion. While primarily concerned with Illinois, this work is also a contribution to Iowa history, and no one interested in the early railroads in this State can afford to overlook it.

George Bird Grinnell is the author of a volume of over four hundred pages on *The Fighting Cheyennes*, which has been published by Charles Scribner's Sons. One feature of the book which is especially noteworthy is the fact that the author's long and intimate acquaintance with the Cheyennes enabled him to write from their point of view. Thus he has corrected many of the errors and misrepresentations which have appeared in the accounts written by white men who were as a rule their enemies. At the same time, Mr. Grinnell has written without partisanship. Some idea of the contents of the book may be gained from the following partial list of the topics discussed in the thirty-one chapters: the Cheyennes, the

ways of warriors, a Crow battle, wars with the Kiowas and Comanches, the peace with the Kiowas, wars with the Pawnees, the Sumner campaign of 1857, gold in Colorado, the Sand Creek massacre, the Powder River expedition, Fort Phil Kearny, the Medicine Lodge treaty, the battle of the Washita, the fight at Adobe Walls, the Custer battle, the Fort Robinson outbreak, and scouting for the soldiers. There are several maps, frequent footnotes and references to sources, and an index.

IOWANA

J. W. Jarnagin contributes a brief but interesting sketch of *Threshing Grain in the Olden Time* to *The Iowa Farmer* for June 15th.

In the May number of *The Iowa Alumnus* there is an *Historical Sketch of Dentistry at Iowa*.

The *Cornell College Bulletin* published in December, 1915, contains the addresses at *The Inauguration of President Flint* on November 19, 1915, among which may be mentioned one on *The College of the Pioneer*, by Thomas H. Macbride.

The Bulletin of the Iowa State Board of Health, edited by Guilford H. Sumner, is a new quarterly publication which recently made its appearance.

A brief sketch of the life of the late John F. Lacey appears in *The Alumnus of Iowa State College* for April. The May number contains an article entitled *Carrie Chapman Catt — Convocation Speaker*; and a biographical sketch of *Prof. Geo. E. Patrick*.

The New Nationalism is the subject of an address by J. Edward Kirby, which is printed in the April number of *The Old Continental*.

The Financial Growth of Waterloo is the subject of the opening article in *The Northwestern Banker* for June. There is a sketch of the history of the *South Dakota Bankers' Association*, and Leroy M. Gibbs discusses the *Growth and Development of Sioux Falls, South Dakota*.

The Diamond Jubilee of St. Joseph's Church, Fort Madison, Iowa, 1840-1915, is the title of a book of about one hundred and fifty pages, by Arthur J. Zaiser, which is a valuable contribution to the early church history of Lee County and southeastern Iowa.

A series of articles on *Masonic High Lights of the Struggle for Mexican Independence*, by John L. McLeish, is published in *The American Freemason* for April, May, and June.

Chapter two of Lula M. Sandy's article on *Immigration* is to be found in the April number of *Autumn Leaves*. In May there is an account of a *Visit to the Birthplace of Joseph Smith, the Martyr*, by C. B. Keck. *The Mountain of the Arrow-head* is described in the June number. In all three issues there are chapters of *Leaves from Church History*.

Volume five, number one of the *Studies in the Social Sciences*, published by the State University of Iowa, consists of a monograph on *Some Aspects of British Rule in India*, by Sudhindra Bose. While the author is "fully aware and duly appreciative of the many solid advantages of English rule", his point of view in this monograph is expressed in the statement that he has considered it "important just now to point out certain evils and suggest constructive reforms."

The April number of the *Journal of History* published at Lamon, Iowa, is filled with interesting material. Among the contents are the following contributions: *A Visit to Adam-on-di-Ahman*, by Heman C. Smith; *Reminiscences of Missouri*, by Heman C. Smith; *The Prisoners of Missouri*, by the same writer; *Press Comments on Missouri Troubles*; and *The Unwritten Story of the Exodus from Missouri*, by Vida E. Smith.

Clifford Powell, who for several years was a member of the staff of The State Historical Society of Iowa, is the editor of the *Company Orders of the Dodge Light Guards, Company L., 3rd Iowa Infantry, 1894-1916*, which have been printed in pamphlet form. This Council Bluffs Company, according to Mr. Powell who is now its Captain, is "said to be the oldest military organization in the state, having

been organized by the late Major General Grenville M. Dodge in 1854 or 1855." The pamphlet also contains a letter from General Dodge telling of the organization and early history of the company.

City Planning for Small Cities, by John L. Hershey, is an article in the April issue of *American Municipalities*. In May, among other things, there is an unsigned article on *The Failure of Public Regulation*. Three articles in the June number are: *Municipal Efficiency*, by A. C. Mueller; *State Legislation for Municipalities*, by D. E. Stuart; and *Probable Results of Legal Regulation*, by R. B. Howell.

Roustabout's History of Mahaska County is the title of an exceedingly interesting little volume of about one hundred pages, written by Phil Hoffman, editor of the *Oskaloosa Herald* and a member of The State Historical Society of Iowa. There are nineteen short chapters devoted to such topics as the beginning, the Indians, Chief Mahaska, county seat, railroads, inventions, good roads, industries, base ball, banks, the making of soft soap, highways, factories, floods, supplies, the press, courts, the stage, and the finish. The book is a welcome departure from the ordinary county history. It is written in a breezy, semi-humorous style which makes it very entertaining reading, while at the same time it conveys to the reader a good idea of many phases of the history of the county.

The *Life of W J McGee*, written by his sister, Emma R. McGee, is a volume which has been privately printed at Farley, Iowa. Dr. McGee was one of Iowa's best known scientists, especially in the fields of geology, ethnology, and anthropology; and his part in the movement for the conservation of natural resources was no small one. Less than eighty pages of the book are devoted to the life of Dr. McGee, and for this reason many readers will doubtless be somewhat disappointed: one would gladly know more of the incidents in his career. One hundred and fifty pages are taken up with extracts from his writings on the following subjects: the desert, the conservation of natural resources, the Seri Indians, the world's supply of fuel, desert thirst as a disease, the cult of conservation, the five-fold functions of government, flood plains of rivers, and the symp-

tomatic development of cancer. At the close of the book there is a bibliography of Dr. McGee's writings. The book will be welcomed among the many friends of the eminent scientist, who died on September 5, 1912.

SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS BY IOWA AUTHORS

Abbott, Keene,

From Moccasin to Motor-car (Harper's Monthly Magazine, June, 1916).

Arnold, John Henry,

The Debater's Guide. Cedar Falls: Published by the author. 1916.

Beard, James Thom,

Mine Gases and Ventilation. New York: McGraw-Hill. 1916.

Bowman, James Cloyd,

The Promise of Country Life. Boston: D. C. Heath and Co. 1916.

Brindley, John Edwin,

Five Mill Tax on Moneys and Credits in Iowa (Quarterly Journal of Economics, May, 1916).

Brown, Charles Reynolds,

The Healing Power of Suggestion. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co. 1916.

Ficke, Arthur Davison,

Japanese Prints (Scribner's Magazine, April, 1916).

Franklin, William Suddards,

Some Phenomena of Fluid Motion and the Curved Flight of a Base Ball (Scientific Monthly, February, 1916).

Frudden, William Elmer,

Farm Buildings: How to Build Them. Charles City, Iowa: Published by the author. 1916.

Gallagher, J. P.,

Corn on the Cob. Williamsburg, Iowa: Journal-Tribune Press. 1916.

Garland, Hamlin,

They of the High Trails. New York: Harper Bros. 1916.

- Gleason, Mrs. Helen Hayes (Joint author),
Golden Lads. New York: The Century Co. 1916.
- Hall, James Norman,
Kitchener's Mob. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1916.
- Heilman, Ralph Emerson,
Control of Interstate Utility Capitalization by State Commissions (Journal of Political Economy, May, 1916).
- Hoffman, Phil,
Roustabout's History of Mahaska County. Oskaloosa: Published by the author. 1916.
- Holst, Bernhart Paul,
My Experience with Spies in the Great European War. Boone, Iowa: Holst Publishing Co. 1916.
- Hough, Emerson,
Let Us Go Afield. New York: D. Appleton and Co. 1916.
- Hughes, Rupert,
Case of Our National Guard (Collier's, May 20, 1916).
- Hutchinson, Woods,
Community Hygiene. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1916.
Secret of Beauty (Good Housekeeping, March, 1916); *Street Lighting and Health* (American City, May, 1916); *Duty of Coolness* (Good Housekeeping, June, 1916).
- Jessup, Walter Albert,
The Teaching Staff. Cleveland: Cleveland Foundation Survey. 1916.
- Koren, John,
Alcohol and Society. New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1916.
- Macbride, Thomas Huston,
On the Campus: Addresses Delivered at Various Times Before University and College Audiences. Cedar Rapids: The Torch Press. 1916.
- Miller, Albert Arthur,
Circleometry. Des Moines: Homestead Co. 1916.
- Parish, John Carl,
Simancas: An Historical Town of Old Spain (Travel, December, 1915).

Powell, Clifford,

Company Orders of the Dodge Light Guards. Council Bluffs: Morehouse and Co. 1916.

Richardson, Anna Steese,

Adventures in Thrift. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co. 1916.

Easy Alimony (McClure's Magazine, March, 1916); *Woman-made Season* (McClure's Magazine, April, 1916); *Am I My Husband's Keeper* (McClure's Magazine, May, 1916).

Robbins, Edwin Clyde,

Lumber Decline in the Northwest (Review of Reviews, May, 1916).

Ross, Edward Alsworth,

Principle of Anticipation (American Journal of Sociology, March, 1916); *Conscience of the Expert* (School and Society, April 8, 1916).

Sabin, Edwin Legrand,

Sleeping Out (American Magazine, June, 1916).

Schmidt, Louis Bernard,

The Economic History of American Agriculture as a Field for Study (The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, June, 1916).

Seashore, Carl Emil,

Seeing Yourself Sing (Science, April, 1916); *Using the Eye Instead of the Ear in the Training of a Musician* (Scientific American, May 13, 1916); *The Blind and their Sense Capacity* (Outlook, May 17, 1916); *The Frequency of Dreams* (Scientific Monthly, May, 1916).

Seerley, Homer H.,

Extension Service for Iowa Teachers (Proceedings and Addresses of National Education Association, 1915).

Smith, Lewis Worthington,

Ships in Port. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1916.

The Mechanism of English Style. New York: Oxford University Press. 1916.

Steiner, Edward Alfred,

Tolstoy: the Man and his Message (Revised edition). New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co. 1916.

Stuckey, Lorin,

The Iowa State Federation of Labor. Iowa City: Published by the author. 1916.

SOME RECENT HISTORICAL ITEMS IN IOWA NEWSPAPERS

The Register and Leader

Remarkable Story of L. H. Kurtz's Half Century Business Career,
April 2, 1916.

The Last Raft that Passed down the Mississippi, April 9, 1916.

Part Played by Iowa and Des Moines in Mexican War Seventy
Years Ago, by Addie B. Billington, April 9, 1916.

Retiring City Officials with Records, April 16, 1916.

Black Hawk's Descendants to Return for Centennial Fête, April 26,
1916.

Church at Galesburg, Iowa, Celebrates Fifty-seventh Anniversary,
April 30, 1916.

Improvement of Le Claire Rapids, April 30, 1916.

History of Herndon Gas Field, May 7, 1916.

Professor Jesse Macy's Plea for Woman Suffrage, May 14, 1916.

Iowa Forty-six Years Ago, by W. J. Lampton, May 18, 1916.

When John P. Irish Favored Suffrage, May 24, 1916.

When Women Students Drilled as Soldiers at Ames, May 28, 1916.

Fire at Penn College, May 28, 1916.

When Iowa Became a State, by W. H. Fleming, May 29, 1916.

Sketch of the life of James J. Hill, May 30, 1916.

Status of the American Indian, June 14, 1916.

Sketch of the life of Alfred Wingate, June 14, 1916.

Fort Armstrong, June 18, 1916.

Can any State Beat Iowa?, by Herbert Quick, June 18, 1916.

Warlike Activity of 1861 Recalled, June 25, 1916.

Miscellaneous

Fort Armstrong Celebration to Bring Results, in the *Davenport Democrat*, April 2, 1916.

Billy Moore Tells of Early Days in Des Moines, in the *Des Moines Tribune*, April 3, 1916.

Visit to Allamakee County Seventy-two Years Ago, in the *Waukon Republican*, April 5, 1916.

Old Marion County, in the *Knoxville Express*, April 5, 1916.

Charlie Wilson writes of Early Days, in the *Decorah Journal*, April 5, 1916.

Sketch of the life of Mrs. Duly Ann Griffey, in the *Shenandoah Sentinel-Post*, April 10, 1916.

History of Founding of Cherokee, by Myron Hinkley, in the *Cherokee Times*, April 13, 1916.

Andersonville Prison, by W. J. Gilmore, in the *Nevada Representative*, April 13, 1916.

Frontier Sketches, running in the *Burlington Post*.

In the Early Days, in the *Panora Vidette*, April 20, 1916.

Sketch of the lives of Mr. and Mrs. John McNary, in the *State Center Enterprise*, April 20, 1916.

Sketch of the life of Col. C. C. Horton, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican*, April 21, 1916, and *Muscatine News-Tribune*, April 23, 1916.

Pioneer Talks of Early Days in Dubuque, in the *Dubuque Times-Journal*, April 25, 1916.

The Switzerland of Iowa, in the *Waukon Republican*, April 26, 1916.

Sketch of the lives of Mr. and Mrs. H. A. Hermesen, in the *Neola Gazette-Republican*, April 27, 1916.

Early Days in Cherokee, by Myron Hinkley, in the *Cherokee Times*, April 27, May 4, 25, 1916.

Sketch of the life of J. Q. White, in the *Corning Free Press*, April 29, 1916.

Academies in Iowa, in the *Carroll Herald*, May 3, 1916.

Sketch of the life of Dr. G. F. Stansberry, in the *Centerville Iowegian*, May 4, 1916.

Epitome of Iowa History, in the *Lacona Ledger*, May 5, 1916.

Interesting Bit of Red Oak History, in the *Red Oak Express*, May 5, 1916.

Sketch of the lives of Mr. and Mrs. R. F. Walker, in the *Oakland Acorn*, May 11, 1916.

Some Recollections of Early Day Indians and Mormons in Iowa, in the *Centerville Iowegian*, May 11, 1916.

Some Early Iowa Schools, by Hiram Heaton, in the *Burlington Post*, May 13, 1916.

Priest Planned Old Capitol, in the *Iowa City Republican*, May 17, 1916.

History of Locating Lee County Seat, by J. F. Daugherty, in the *Keokuk Gate-City*, May 18, 1916.

Some Early History of Conesville, Iowa, in the *Lone Tree Reporter*, May 18, 1916.

History of Log Cabin, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, May 21, 1916.

Sketch of the life of Benjamin P. Birdsall, in the *Clarion Monitor*, May 24, 1916.

Early Days in Iowa, in the *Bloomfield Republican*, May 25, 1916.

History of Troy Academy, in the *Bloomfield Republican*, May 25, 1916.

Beginning of Survey at Red Rock in 1843, in the *Des Moines Capital*, May 26, 1916.

Sketch of the life of Joseph M. Abel, in the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, May 28, 1916.

Early Iowa Schools, by Hiram Heaton, in the *Fairfield Ledger*, May 31, 1916.

History of Keokuk is Part of History of Civil War, in the *Keokuk Gate-City*, May 31, 1916.

The Fairfield Ledger in 1871, in the *Fairfield Ledger*, June 7, 1916.

Recalls Old Indian Treaty, in the *Knoxville Express*, June 7, 1916.

A Boone County Veteran's Experience at Andersonville, by Jackson Hull, in the *Madrid News*, June 8, 1916.

John M. Swather — Early Stage Driver, in the *Oskaloosa Herald*, June 9, 1916.

Child of Betsy Ross Buried in Fort Madison, in the *Fort Madison Democrat*, June 14, 1916.

Des Moines in 1851, in the *Des Moines Tribune*, June 15, 1916.

Sketch of the life of W. B. Martin, in the *Greenfield Free Press*, June 15, 1916.

Sixth Iowa Cavalry — Historical Sketch of Indian War Regiment, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican*, June 19, 1916.

Synopsis of Historical Pageantry at Davenport, in the *Davenport Democrat*, June 20, 1916.

Robert Dickson Sole Survivor of Organizers of Carroll County, in the *Carroll Herald*, June 21, 1916.

Iowa and the Mexican War, 1846, in the *Des Moines Capital*, June 23, 1916.

Remarkable Exhibit of Relics of Davenport's Early Days, in the *Davenport Democrat*, June 25, 1916.

Sketch of the life of Gen. Milo T. Sherman, in the *New Hampton Gazette*, June 28, 1916.

Bits of Davis County History, in the *Bloomfield Republican*, June 29, 1916.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

PUBLICATIONS

A detailed description of *The Minnesota Historical Society Building* as it will appear when completed, written by Stirling Horner, is to be found in the May number of the *Minnesota History Bulletin*.

An illustrated article on *Outagamie County Antiquities*, by George R. Fox, is to be found in *The Wisconsin Archeologist* for March.

Benjamin Franklin — An Appreciation, by Marshall Putnam Thompson, is the title of a paper published in the *Proceedings of the Bostonian Society* at the annual meeting held on January 18, 1916. *A Boy's Memories of the Civil War and the Assassination of Abraham Lincoln* are related by Charles F. Read.

The Pennsylvania Society of Colonial Governors has issued a handsome volume of over three hundred pages containing biographical sketches of several Governors of the various American colonies.

Bulletin No. 5 published by the Michigan Historical Commission contains a list of *Names of Places of Interest on Mackinac Island, Michigan*, with descriptive and explanatory notes by Frank A. O'Brien. There is also a map of Mackinac Island.

Early Opposition to Thomas Hart Benton, by C. H. McClure; and *How Missouri Counties, Towns and Streams were Named*, by David W. Eaton, are two articles in the April number of *The Missouri Historical Review*.

Volume fourteen, number two of *The James Sprunt Historical Publications*, published under the direction of the North Carolina Historical Society, is taken up with a monograph by Francis Hodges Cooper, on *Some Colonial Aspects of Beaufort County, North Carolina*.

In *The Journal of American Folk-Lore* for July-September, 1915, may be found *Some Play-Party Games of the Middle West*, including a number from Iowa, compiled by Edwin F. Piper.

Some Errors in Medford's Histories are pointed out by John H. Hooper in the April number of *The Medford Historical Register*.

The June number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* contains the following five articles: *The Socialist Party in Illinois Since 1896*, by Ora E. Cox; *Who was our Sieur de Vincennes?*, by Jacob P. Dunn; *Some Features of the History of Parke County*, by Maurice Murphy; *The Terre Haute Company*, by A. R. Markle; and *Tecumseh's Confederacy*, by Elmore Barce.

The Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society for January contain, among other things, an article by Joseph F. Folsom entitled *Manuscript Light on Chaplain James Caldwell's Death*.

Part two of the *Report of the Journey of Francis Louis Michel from Berne, Switzerland, to Virginia, in 1701-1702*, translated and edited by William J. Hinke; and the fifth section of the study of *The Virginia Frontier in History*, by David J. Bushnell, Jr., dealing in this case with the Treaty of Fort Pitt, are among the contents of *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* for April.

Among the contents of *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* for January are continuations of *Letters to General Greene and Others*, annotated by Joseph W. Barnwell; and the *Order Book of John Faucheraud Grinké*.

The fourth installment of *Selections from the Follett Papers*, edited by L. B. Hamlin, may be found in the January-March issue of *The Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio*.

Father Peter De Smet — Mighty Sower 1801-1873, by Joseph M. Corrigan, is an article in the June number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* which has a bearing on the early history of western Iowa. It is evidently a review of the recent biography of De Smet, written by E. Laveille. A similar article by

Joseph J. Murphy reviews the main events in the career of *Reverend Charles Nerinckx*, a pioneer missionary of Kentucky, as related in a recent biography.

A biographical sketch of *Nathaniel Cushing Nash*, by Nathaniel C. Nash, Jr.; and a continuation of the *Reminiscences of John Davidson, a Maine Pioneer*, are among the contents of *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for April.

Among the articles in the January-March number of the *American Anthropologist* are the following: *On the Variety of Lines of Descent Represented in a Population*, by Franz Boas; *The Question of the Zodiac in America*, by Herbert J. Spinden; and *Notes on Explorations of Martha's Vineyard*, by S. J. Guernsey.

Where Roger Williams Lived in Salem is the subject discussed by Sidney Perley in the opening pages of the *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute* for April. The same writer contributes another article entitled *Part of Salem Village in 1700*.

A forty-page article on *Indian Treaties Affecting Lands in the Present State of Illinois*, by Frank R. Grover, is the opening contribution in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* for October. Many of these treaties also have a bearing on Iowa history. *General Grant, Judge William H. Green and N. B. Thistlewood, of Cairo, Illinois* is the title of an article by John M. Lansden. Among the remaining contributions is one by W. T. Norton, on *Forgotten Statesmen of Illinois: Hon. Robert Smith*.

Lawrence C. Wroth is the writer of a monograph on *The First Sixty Years of the Church of England in Maryland, 1632-1692*, which is given first place in the March number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. There are continuations of *Uria Brown's Journal*; of the *Journal of the Committee of Observation of the Middle District of Frederick County, Maryland*; and of *Extracts from the Carroll Papers*.

Redfield Proctor, His Public Life and Services, by Frank C. Partidge; *Otter Creek in History*, by Henry W. Hill; and a compilation of data concerning prominent men born in Vermont, by Dorman B.

E. Kent, under the heading *One Thousand Men*, are among the contents of the *Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society for the Years 1913-1914*. In Mr. Kent's list may be found the names of Lucien W. Berry, Henry T. Reed, Austin Adams, John A. Kasson, Leslie M. Shaw, Martin J. Wade, Josiah B. Grinnell, George Augustus Gates, Ansel Briggs, and others who have been prominent in Iowa.

The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society for May opens with a *Biographical Sketch of Major Henry T. Stanton, Poet and Journalist, of Kentucky*, by J. Stoddard Johnston. Other articles are: *A Sketch of the Life and Times of General Benjamin Logan*, by Bessie T. Conkwright; *The Census of Woodford County, Ky., 1800*, by A. C. Quisenberry; and *Jared De Mint, an Indian Episode in the Early History of Franklin County*, by Leonna Jett Shryock.

New light upon a much discussed subject is furnished by William Edward Dunn in an article on *The Spanish Search for La Salle's Colony, 1685-1689*, which is published in the April number of *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*. Clara M. Love is the writer of a *History of the Cattle Industry in the Southwest*, a portion of which appears in this number. A brief article on *The Beginnings of Mission Nuestra Senora del Refugio* is contributed by Herbert E. Bolton. Finally, there is the eighteenth installment of *British Correspondence Concerning Texas*, edited by Ephraim Douglass Adams.

Among the contributions in volume fifteen of the *Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois*, edited by Julius Goebel, are the following: *Francis Lieber: A Study of a Man and an Ideal*, by Ernest Bruncken; *Aus der Frühzeit der deutschen Bewegung*, consisting of two speeches on German Day, 1891, at New York and Fort Madison, by Carl Schurz and Franz Sigel, respectively; *Karl Heinzen, Reformer, Poet and Literary Critic*, by Paul O. Schinnerer; *The Premises and Significance of Abraham Lincoln's Letter to Theodore Canisius*, by F. I. Herriott; and *Recollections of a Forty-eight*, by Major Frederick Behlen-dorff.

A timely article on *Franklin and the Rule of Free Ships, Free Goods*, by Simeon E. Baldwin, appears in the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* at the annual meeting held on October 20, 1915. *Virginia's Contribution to Science* is the subject of an interesting article by Lyon G. Tyler. *The Indian Myths of the Northwest*, meaning the Pacific Northwest, are discussed by William D. Lyman. The remaining one hundred pages are taken up with part four of Clarence S. Brigham's *Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820*, this installment being devoted to the newspapers of Massachusetts, except those of Boston.

Joseph Jackson is the contributor of an entertaining discussion of *The Shakespeare Tradition in Philadelphia* which appears in the April number of *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*. Other items of interest among the contents are some *Autobiographical Letters of Peter S. Duponceau*; *Fanny Saltar's Reminiscences of Colonial Days in Philadelphia*, contributed by Mrs. E. B. Hoskins; and *Letters of Thomas Penn to Richard Hockley, 1746-1748*.

The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society opens with an interesting paper on *The Indian of the Northwest as Revealed by the Earliest Journals*, by O. B. Sperlin. *A Tribute to John Minto* is written by William Galloway. Harrison C. Dale contributes a brief discussion of the question, *Did the Returning Astorians Use the South Pass?*, together with a letter bearing on that subject written in 1856 by Ramsay Crooks. *A Hudson's Bay Company Contract of the year 1850*, and another section of the *Correspondence of the Reverend Ezra Fisher* complete the contents.

A lengthy, illustrated article on *Les médailles décernées aux Indiens d'Amerique*, by Victor Morin, which appears in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* for December, is a valuable contribution to the history of the relations between the Indians and the various civilized nations that have had dealings with them. Other articles are *The Social Organization of the West Coast Tribes*, by E. Sapir; and the fifth paper on *An Organization of the Scientific Investigation of the Indian Place Nomenclature of the Maritime*

Provinces of Canada, by W. F. Ganong. In the March number, among other things, there is a long discussion of the *Fundamental Processes in Historical Science*, by Hervey M. Bowman.

Under the heading of *Work of Indexing Louisiana "Black Boxes"*, in volume eight of the *Publications of the Louisiana Historical Society*, William Price tells of the valuable service which he has performed in indexing the early archives of Louisiana. *The Black Code*, by James J. McLoughlin; *Bienville's Difficulties in the Founding of New Orleans*, by Mrs. S. B. Elder; *Noblesse Oblige*, by Gilbert Pemberton, in which the writer tells of the storm at New Orleans in 1722 and the disastrous fire of 1788; *Original Contributions of Louisiana to Medical Science*, by Edmond Souchon; and *A Statue Due Sieur de Bienville*, by Mrs. S. B. Elder, are other papers.

The American Historical Review for April opens with a detailed account of *The Meeting of the American Historical Association at Washington*. Lynn Thorndike's study of *The True Roger Bacon* is concluded in this number. *The Political Theories of Calvinists before the Puritan Exodus to America* are discussed by Herbert Darling Foster; *Slavery and Conversion in the American Colonies* is the title of an article by Marcus W. Jernegan; and the *Influences which Determined the French Government to Make the Treaty with America, 1778*, are pointed out by Claude H. Van Tyne. The documents contained in this number have to do with the *Relations between the Vermont Separatists and Great Britain, 1789-1791*, and are edited by S. F. Bemis.

An unsigned article on *Ohio History and National History* occupies the opening pages in the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* for April. Then follow the proceedings of the ninth annual meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association, including the following papers: *Woman's Suffrage in the Constitutional Convention of Ohio*, by D. C. Shilling; *Early Religious Movements in Pittsburgh*, by Homer J. Webster; *Early Religious Movements in the Muskingum Valley*, by C. L. Martzoff; *Early Newspapers in the Virginias*, by Henry S. Green; *Influences of Early Religious Liter-*

ature in the Ohio Valley from 1815 to 1850, by Mrs. Irene D. Cornwell; *Location of Site of Ohio Capitol*, by E. O. Randall; and *The Centennial Churches of the Miami Valley*, by J. E. Bradford. Finally, Felix J. Koch contributes a brief note entitled *This Monument is Older than the Great Pyramids*.

An exceedingly valuable contribution to the source materials for the study of Indian affairs is to be found in the *Letters of Benjamin Hawkins 1796-1806* which have recently been published in volume nine of the *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*. Benjamin Hawkins was for a time a member of Washington's staff during the Revolutionary War, he served in the legislature of North Carolina, was a Delegate to the Continental Congress, and one of the first United States Senators from North Carolina. But he rendered his greatest service as "agent of the United States among the Creeks and general superintendent of all the tribes south of the Ohio River" during the two decades following his appointment in 1796. The record of his labors in this capacity is partly to be found in the letters now published. It is said in a biographical introduction that he "was far above the average Indian agent of that day and of this in general culture and grasp of affairs. Further, he was a man of approved honesty, and his life, as seen in his published letters, shows clearly that he was devoted to the material upbuilding of the Indians under his care and to their intellectual advancement."

The *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* at the sixty-third annual meeting held on October 21, 1915, have been issued in a form more attractive than that of preceding volumes. Especially is the improvement noticeable in the type and printing. The principal address at the meeting was one by Gaillard Hunt on *The President of the United States*. Other papers are: *The Settlement of the Town of Lebanon, Dodge County*, by W. F. Whyte; *Remains of a French Post Near Trempealeau*, by Eben D. Pierce, George H. Squier, and Louise Phelps Kellogg; *Chicago's First Great Lawsuit*, by Eugene E. Prussing; *A Forgotten Community: A Record of Rock Island, the Threshold of Wisconsin*, by Hjalmar R. Holand; and *British Policy on the Canadian Frontier, 1782-92: Mediation and an Indian Barrier State*, by Orpha E. Leavitt.

Finally, there are some valuable and interesting *Extracts from Capt. McKay's Journal — and Others* concerning the early exploration of the upper Missouri River, edited with introduction and notes by Milo M. Quaife.

Verner W. Crane is the writer of an article on *The Tennessee River as the Road to Carolina: The Beginnings of Exploration and Trade* which is printed in the June number of *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*. The article furnishes some new light on certain Indian tribes, early French explorations, and on the struggle between the French and the English for the control of the Mississippi Valley. In a paper entitled *Virginia and the West: An Interpretation* Clarence W. Alvord sets forth a new viewpoint for the study of the forces which culminated in the acquisition of the Old Northwest by the United States. *The Economic History of American Agriculture as a Field for Study* is the title of an interesting and suggestive paper read by Louis B. Schmidt before the American Historical Association last winter. Arthur C. Cole presents a survey of *Historical Activities in the Old Northwest* during the past year. Under the heading of "Notes and Documents" there is a brief discussion of the well-known facts concerning *The Iowa-Missouri Disputed Boundary*, by Claude S. Larzelere. A letter supposed to have been written by William Henry Harrison in 1802 is contributed by Harlow Lindley; while Bernard C. Steiner contributes two letters written in 1800 by Uriah Tracy discussing conditions in the Old Northwest.

ACTIVITIES

There appears to be a movement in Mahaska County in favor of the organization of a county historical society — a movement which, it is hoped, will meet with success in the near future.

The Allamakee County Historical and Archaeological Society has been holding monthly meetings, and the reports indicate a growing interest in the history of the county. Several papers on various phases of Allamakee County history have been prepared and presented to the Society.

Among the recent acquisitions of the Chicago Historical Society is a collection of about three thousand papers of the Law family of Green Bay. The papers relate chiefly to the fur trade in the Old Northwest.

The Jefferson County Historical Society held a meeting at Fairfield on June 7th. The principal paper was one by Mr. J. W. McLean on the methods of threshing grain in the early days. The Society voted to abandon its efforts to secure a marker for the old State fair grounds in Fairfield.

At the annual meeting of the Maryland Historical Society held on February 14th, Mr. Edwin Warfield was reelected president. The membership of the Society at that time numbered six hundred and eighty-three.

Mr. Clarence S. Paine, secretary of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and of the Nebraska State Historical Society, died on June 14, 1916. Mr. Paine was one of the most enthusiastic and effective workers in the cause of history in the Middle West; and to him more than to anyone else was due the credit for organizing the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. The loss of his services will be keenly felt.

The Page County Historical Society held a meeting at Clarinda on June 15th. Short talks on the importance and functions of a local historical society were made by Dr. Dan E. Clark of The State Historical Society of Iowa and Mr. Edgar R. Harlan of the Historical Department of Iowa. There were also reminiscences by a number of pioneers. The purpose of the meeting, which was well attended, was to arouse enthusiasm in the county historical society.

Professor Melvin R. Gilmore, formerly curator of the State Historical Museum at Lincoln, Nebraska, has been appointed curator of the library and museum of the North Dakota Historical Society at Bismarck, to succeed Mr. Herbert C. Fish.

A committee of five has been appointed by the president of The State Historical Society of Missouri to formulate plans for the proper celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the admission of

Missouri into the Union. A committee of one thousand, consisting of citizens representing all sections and interests of the State will also be appointed.

The thirteenth annual meeting of the Madison County Historical Society was held at Winterset on April 25, 1916. Blair Wolf read a poem on *The Pioneers*; E. R. Zeller presented a biographical sketch of Alfred D. Jones, an early surveyor; and Olynthus B. Clark delivered an address entitled *Advertising Iowa*. The election of officers resulted as follows: H. A. Mueller, president; W. W. Gentry, vice president; E. R. Zeller, secretary; and Blair Wolf, M. C. Leinard, John Anderson, and Laura J. Miller, directors.

Mrs. Adèle B. Looscan was chosen president, and Professor Charles W. Ramsdell secretary-treasurer, of the Texas State Historical Association at the annual meeting held on March 2, 1916. The Association will give its support to the plan for the celebration of the bi-centennial of the founding of San Antonio.

The Historical Department of Iowa, under the direction of Curator Edgar R. Harlan, has recently begun to use the moving-picture machine for the purpose of recording current events which will be of historical interest in future years. Among the activities of the Department along this line has been the taking of moving pictures of the Iowa troops at Camp Dodge. Curator Harlan has also been very active in promoting interest in the marking of historic sites in various parts of the State. The spot at Red Rock where George Harrison began to survey the boundary line of 1843 will be suitably marked when the exact location has been determined. The Department was given a small appropriation by the last General Assembly with which to aid local organizations in marking historic sites. The portrait galleries in the historical building have been redecorated and many additions have been made to the art collection.

The ninth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held at Nashville, Tennessee, on April 27-29, 1916. There were also joint sessions with the Tennessee Historical Society, the Ohio Valley Historical Association, and the Tennessee History

Teachers' Association. Southern history received special emphasis in the papers read at this meeting, while more than the usual amount of attention was also paid to military history. Professor Frederic L. Paxson of the University of Wisconsin was elected president for the coming year, and Mr. Clarence S. Paine was reelected as secretary-treasurer. The membership dues were raised to three dollars. It was also voted to place the publication of the *Proceedings* of the Association in the hands of the board of editors which now has charge of *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*. This will probably mean that many of the papers read at the meetings of the Association will hereafter be published in the *Review*.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

Mr. John Piffner has been added to the research staff of the Society for the present summer.

Professor Louis B. Schmidt of the Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts has been made a member of the non-resident research staff of the Society. His work will be along the line of the agricultural history of Iowa.

Mr. Odis K. Patton, Mr. John E. Briggs, and Mr. Ivan L. Pollock, all of whom are members of the research staff of the Society, received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the State University of Iowa in June.

At the monthly meeting of the Board of Curators on July 5, 1916, Mr. Euclid Sanders was reelected president of the Society, and Mr. Paul A. Korab was reelected treasurer.

Professor Benj. F. Shambaugh, the Superintendent of the Society, spoke at Ames on May 8th under the auspices of the Applied Social Science Club on the subject of *The Commission-Manager Plan of Municipal Government*.

The Board of Curators at the monthly meeting on July 5th changed the title of the position held by Dr. Dan E. Clark to that of Associate Editor; while Miss Ruth A. Gallaher was promoted to the position of Library Research Associate.

Dr. Louis Pelzer of the State University of Iowa, a member of the Society and the author of a number of its publications, read a paper on *Activities and Scenes at Old Fort Leavenworth* before the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at Nashville in April.

Dr. John C. Parish of Colorado Springs is spending the summer in Iowa City as a member of the research staff of the Society. At present Dr. Parish is a professor of history in Colorado College.

Mr. J. A. Swisher, General Assistant in the Society, was the winner this year of the third of the Norman Wait Harris Prizes offered by Mr. N. W. Harris of Chicago for the best essays in the field of political science written by undergraduate students in any college or university in six States of the Middle West. Mr. Swisher's subject was *The Reorganization of the Executive Department of the State Government of Iowa*.

Governor Clarke has appointed the following persons as non-resident Curators of The State Historical Society of Iowa for the coming two years: Mr. Marsh W. Bailey of Washington, Mr. J. P. Cruikshank of Fort Madison, Mr. M. F. Edwards of Parkersburg, Mr. J. J. McConnell of Cedar Rapids, Mr. John T. Moffit of Tipton, Mr. Byron W. Newberry of Strawberry Point, Dean E. W. Stanton of Ames, Judge W. H. Tedford of Corydon, and Mr. J. B. Weaver of Des Moines.

The following persons have recently been elected to membership in the Society: Mrs. E. L. Bower, Guthrie Center, Iowa; Mrs. B. G. Davies, Castana, Iowa; Mr. O. A. Garretson, Salem, Iowa; Mrs. E. M. Golding, Glidden, Iowa; Mr. C. E. Greef, Eldora, Iowa; Mrs. B. N. Hendricks, Riceville, Iowa; Mr. H. W. Raymond, Chariton, Iowa; Mr. C. L. Robinson, Norwalk, Iowa; Dr. Daniel Sickler, Ogden, Iowa; Mr. W. Schmedika, Radcliffe, Iowa; Mrs. Ida Kendall Simonds, Onawa, Iowa; Mr. Walter W. White, Spirit Lake, Iowa; Mr. William D. Boies, Sheldon, Iowa; Mr. Ralph G. Grassfield, Newton, Iowa; Mr. D. Sands Wright, Cedar Falls, Iowa; Mrs. Dixie C. Gebhardt, Knoxville, Iowa; and Mr. Le Roy A. Rader, Alta, Iowa. Mr. W. F. Moore of Guthrie Center, Iowa, has been elected to life membership in the Society.

NOTES AND COMMENT

An unusually large collection of Indian arrow-heads and other relics is in the possession of Mr. E. R. Ballard of West Union, Iowa.

William B. Martin, who was Secretary of State of Iowa from 1901 to 1907, died in Des Moines on June 11, 1916. Mr. Martin was also a Representative in the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth General Assemblies of Iowa.

Availing themselves of the provisions of the law, the supervisors of Crawford County have voted to erect a soldiers' monument on the courthouse square, to cost not more than ten thousand dollars.

State Superintendent A. M. Deyoe has sent out a request that October 20th be observed as Iowa Day in all the public schools of the State. It is planned that on that day special attention will be given to the history, people, resources, and industries of Iowa.

The class in anthropology at the State University of Iowa, under the direction of Dr. Lorin Stuckey, made an investigation this spring of the Indian mounds along the Iowa River in Johnson County.

Professor Carl L. Becker of the University of Kansas has accepted a position as professor of history in the University of Minnesota.

Mr. Henry Field of Shenandoah has purchased a five-acre tract of land which was once the site of a Mormon village known as Manti, established in 1847. A graveyard and an old house are the only reminders of the old village. Mr. Field will make his summer home on the land which he has purchased.

Colonel Charles Cummins Horton, Commandant of the Iowa Soldiers' Home at Marshalltown from 1897 to March of the present year, died on April 21, 1916. Colonel Horton was born in New

York in 1839, and came to Iowa with his parents in 1848, settling at Muscatine. During the Civil War he rose from the rank of private to that of lieutenant colonel of the Second Iowa Cavalry.

The Fort Dodge chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution will preserve and restore to its original appearance the log cabin in Oleson Park in that city, which was a part of the old fort and which is doubtless the oldest building in that city.

The University of Texas, the University of California, the Library of Congress, and the Texas State Library are coöperating in financing the transcription of documents in the archives of Seville, Spain, bearing on the history of Texas and the Southwest. The work is being done by Mr. William E. Dunn of the University of Texas.

A newspaper item states that the Allison memorial on the capitol grounds at Des Moines will not be completed as soon as expected, owing to the increase in the cost of materials and the lack of skilled workers.

Benjamin P. Birdsall was born in Wisconsin in 1858. His education was received in the common schools of Iowa and in the law department of the State University of Iowa. He was District Judge of the eleventh district from 1893 to 1900, and in 1903 he succeeded David B. Henderson as Representative in Congress from the Third Congressional District, a position which he held until 1909. Judge Birdsall died at his home in Clarion on May 16, 1916.

The city council of Oskaloosa has given to the city of Council Bluffs permission to erect a replica of the statue of Chief Mahaska which stands in the city park at Oskaloosa. Permission has also been granted by the donor and sculptor of the original statue. Mr. Edgar R. Harlan, Curator of the Historical Department of Iowa, conducted the negotiations which resulted in this agreement. It is the plan to erect the replica monument in Council Bluffs to mark the western end of the Mormon Trail across Iowa.

A fine oil portrait of Theodore Sutton Parvin has been presented to the State University of Iowa by his former pupils and friends.

Mr. Parvin, who died in 1901, was one of Iowa's best known citizens. He was private secretary to Robert Lucas, the first Territorial Governor of Iowa; and during the following half-century he witnessed the upbuilding of a State from a few frontier settlements. For nine years he was professor of natural history in the State University. He was a prominent member of the Masonic fraternity in Iowa; and was for many years the secretary of the State Historical Society of Iowa. It may be said that no other man of his period was so actively interested in the preservation and recording of the pioneer history of Iowa.

For nearly ten years there has been in operation in Cedar Rapids a business known as the Torch Press Book Shop, conducted by Mr. William H. Miner. This was the first and only enterprise of the kind in Iowa, and during the years since its establishment it has met the success which it has deserved. It has been the means of reclaiming and rendering accessible to collectors and public libraries thousands of rare and valuable books; and its name has become known throughout the country. Now there comes the announcement that there has been established at 3518-3522 Franklin Avenue, St. Louis, a bookselling business known as "The William Harvey Miner Company, Inc., Antiquarian Booksellers and Importers", with the intention of "continuing the work and upholding the ideals of the Torch Press Book Shop". Mr. Miner is the president of the new company, and Mr. Luther A. Brewer the vice president.

The one hundredth anniversary of the founding of Fort Armstrong was fittingly observed on Rock Island and in the cities of Rock Island, Moline, and Davenport during the week of June 18th to 24th. The movement for the celebration was originated by the Rock Island County Historical Society and the Historical Section of the Davenport Academy of Sciences, and it was under the direction of these organizations that the exercises were conducted. Beginning with sermons in the various churches, there were addresses, picnics, parades, fireworks, and pageants (both in the daytime and at night), including an illuminated river pageant. One of the chief points of interest during the celebration was the old block-house on Rock Island. The presence of a descendant of Black

Hawk, the great Indian leader, added to the interest of the occasion. A fine collection of relics of the early days was on display in the rooms of the Davenport Academy of Sciences. Altogether, the celebration was a decided success and attracted a large number of people.

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THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS
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THE OPENING OF THE DES MOINES VALLEY TO SETTLEMENT

[For an article by Mr. Van der Zee, dealing with the earlier history of the Des Moines Valley, see *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS* for July, 1916.—EDITOR]

THE FIRST PERMANENT SETTLEMENT IN THE IOWA COUNTRY

The wilderness tract just above the mouth of the Des Moines River was a region which was early frequented by fur traders. Near the Sac Indian village Louis Tesson (nicknamed Honoré) had received a land grant from the Spanish government, and there he had set up a little frontier establishment. How long he stayed and who lived upon his land afterwards can not be ascertained, but about the year 1806 Tesson transferred his land to Joseph Robidoux of St. Louis in satisfaction of a debt. In 1810 Robidoux's estate was sold and Thomas F. Riddick became the new owner. The United States government in 1816 confirmed Riddick's title to six hundred and forty acres, instead of to a league square which he claimed. Whether the land was actually occupied during this time and for some years later must be left to conjecture. There is no certain evidence in the fragmentary records now available, but inasmuch as an Indian village stood near by there is good reason to believe that some sort of a settlement was maintained on the site of the present town of Montrose.¹ During the years of the War of 1812 Americans were driven from the neighborhood by the Indian allies of the British and not until after peace was restored in 1815 could American subjects feel safe in this region.

¹ *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XIII, pp. 239, 240.

John C. Sullivan was engaged in 1816 to locate the northern boundary of the Osage Indian land cession in the Territory of Missouri. He was the first surveyor in this part of the public domain, and he ran a line which thirty-four years later definitely became the Iowa-Missouri boundary. Running east and west the line stopped at the middle of the channel of the Des Moines River and if extended to what have long been called the Des Moines Rapids of the Mississippi would have deprived the State of Iowa of its tongue-shaped southeastern corner. This area, however, was then in possession of the Sac Indians and therefore was not within the power of the Osage Indians to cede.² It was a tract, too, that was destined to attain unusual historical significance within the next two or three decades.

Besides the events which took place there in connection with the operations of the fur traders (of which comparatively little is known), practically nothing can be said concerning the human habitation of that part of the Des Moines Valley until tradition tells of the building of a log cabin upon the site of the present city of Keokuk in 1820. Dr. Samuel C. Muir, an Edinburgh University graduate then performing the duties of surgeon at Fort Edwards just across the Mississippi, is reported to have constructed the cabin for the accommodation of his Sac Indian wife and five children. Tradition also tells how, when United States army officers and attachés were ordered to terminate relations with Indian women, Muir resigned his position, leased his property to Otis Reynolds and John Culver, and for several years practised medicine in northern Missouri and at Galena, Illinois.³

Isaac R. Campbell visited the locality in the month of June, 1821, and noted Muir's cabin. Six miles north, on

² THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XIII, pp. 28, 29.

³ *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. V, pp. 889, 890.

the present site of Sandusky Station, stood the trading post of Monsieur Lemoliese. According to Campbell's reminiscences, recorded forty-six years later, "Lemoliese had a very amiable lady for a wife, who was fond of dress. She frequently, to please him, arrayed her person in gown, bonnet and shoes, but could not be prevailed upon to continue the costume, as her native garb, the blanket and petticoat, were more congenial to her feelings and taste." One mile above Lemoliese lived another trader, Maurice Blondeau, who was half Frenchman and half Fox Indian. On the spot where the town of Montrose now stands Campbell found the remains of a deserted trading house in the midst of an orchard of apple trees. This no doubt describes Tesson's old Spanish grant as it appeared in the year 1821. Just above was the Sac village of Chief Cut Nose. Such is the picture of life in that part of the Iowa country, the nearest white settlements upon the frontier being situated to the east in Illinois and to the south in the State of Missouri, then but recently admitted into the Union. During the next four years Campbell visited these wilderness scenes more than once. He recalls a journey by ox team and wagon from his farm in Missouri to the Sac village: he and his Indian guide were compelled to swim their oxen across the swollen Des Moines River and to transport the wagon upon a raft which they constructed.⁴

In the summer of 1824 ten Sac and Fox chiefs, accompanied by their trader, B. Vasquez, as interpreter, Maurice Blondeau, Louis Tesson, and John W. Johnson, formerly government factor at old Fort Madison, journeyed eastward to consult the President of the United States at Washington. On the fourth day of August they signed a treaty relinquishing all the claims of their tribes to lands within the limits of the new State of Missouri on condition "that

⁴ *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. V, pp. 883, 884, 885.

the small tract of land lying between the rivers Desmoin and the Mississippi, and the section of the above line [the Sullivan or Old Indian Boundary projected eastward] between the Mississippi and the Desmoin, is intended for the use of the half-breeds belonging to the Sock and Fox nations." One may be sure that the Indians themselves were not so desirous of this grant as were the fathers of children by Indian mothers. In fact the men who witnessed the treaty were inhabitants or sometime residents of the country established for the Sac and Fox half-breeds.⁵

Records of life upon the Half-breed Tract are very meager and not altogether satisfactory, but since they constitute the history of the first permanent settlement in Iowa, a brief narrative of events in this region may properly be presented here. According to the reminiscences of a pioneer, Dr. Samuel C. Muir left "The Point" or "Puck-e-she-tuck" (Foot of the Rapids) sometime after 1820. What the lessees of his log cabin, Reynolds and Culver, did at this place is not reported, but they were probably engaged in the Indian trade. In 1828 they stationed here their agent and representative, Moses Stillwell, who came with his wife and four children and a brother-in-law by the name of Valencourt Vanorsdoll. They cut and sold fire-wood to passing steamboats and carried on trade with the Indians. Stillwell died six years later; while Vanorsdoll came to be called "the oldest continuous white citizen in the State of Iowa", being still alive in 1879.⁶

On the morning of July 4, 1829, amid the booming of cannon, men and women bound for points north in Illinois and Wisconsin disembarked at what certain gentlemen on the steamboat at the suggestion of George Davenport had

⁵ See THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XIII, pp. 151, 152.

⁶ THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XIII, pp. 153-155; *The History of Lee County, Iowa* (1879), pp. 333, 334.

agreed to call "Keeokuk", the capital of the Half-breed Tract and a village containing about twenty Indian families, an American Fur Company store, and a tavern. A passenger upon the steamboat at this time reported the reservation as the common property of about forty-two half-breeds, only a few of whom had actually made clearings or settlements. Steamboats were at that time unloaded upon the Iowa shore and thus lightened were enabled to make their way up the shallow rapids of the Mississippi. Then after several days delay passengers and goods resumed the journey. Some miles north of "Keeokuk" lived Maurice Blondeau with his Indian wife and daughters, "well educated, well read, and accomplished young ladies", and just above his establishment stood a little Sac village of forty or fifty persons. Blondeau died in the month of August of this year, leaving his brother-in-law, Andrew St. Amant, in charge of his plantation.⁷

The American Fur Company had erected as business headquarters at Keokuk a row of hewed log buildings which afterwards went by the undignified name of "Rat Row". In the year 1830 Russell Farnham was the Company's manager here; Joshua Palen, Mark Aldridge, and Edward Brishnell were clerks; Francis Labashure and a Menominee Indian named Baptiste or Battise served as interpreters; while John Connolly, John Forsyth, James Thorn, and John Tolman acted as itinerant peddlers and collectors of furs: "all having Indian women for wives, were very popular as drummers with the various bands of Indians." Andrew St. Amant, Baptiste Neddeau, Bruseau, and Paul Bessette, all indirectly connected with John Jacob Astor's enterprise in various capacities, were also among the first settlers. Dr. Samuel C. Muir returned to his log building at Keokuk

⁷ THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XIII, pp. 155, 156; *The History of Lee County, Iowa* (1879), pp. 333, 334.

in 1830 and early in the following year Isaac R. Campbell joined him in the mercantile business as Indian traders.⁸

The beginnings of the present town of Galland date from the year 1829 when Dr. Isaac Galland selected and settled upon a spot seven miles north of Keokuk or about one mile north of Maurice Blondeau's farm. Believing that this place was destined to become a great commercial city on account of its position near the rapids, he did everything in his power to promote its growth and prosperity. Here in 1830 was born to Mr. and Mrs. Galland a daughter, Eleanor, who bears the distinction of being the first white child born in the Iowa country. Hither Mr. and Mrs. Isaac R. Campbell removed from Illinois in the same year. Here also the first school teacher in the Iowa wilderness saw service — Berryman Jennings, later an Oregon millionaire.⁹

The number of settlers or squatters upon the Half-breed Tract about this time is unknown, but that the Sac and Fox Indians, and especially the half-breeds, viewed the trespassing whites with alarm is evident from the fact that they petitioned the President of the United States in 1829 and again in 1830 to survey and divide the reservation for the half-breeds living at the time of the treaty in 1824. They asked that their "Father" remove all whites "except a father, a husband, or wife of any of the half-breeds" or any agent or trader licensed by the government, and they wanted the sale of intoxicating liquors prohibited on the Tract. The citizens of the State of Missouri about the same time memorialized Congress to add the reservation to their Commonwealth on account of its future commercial importance.

In October, 1831, John W. Johnson, whose daughters were among the tenants-in-common of the Tract, urged a

⁸ *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. V, pp. 889, 890.

⁹ *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. V, pp. 887, 888; see *The History of Lee County, Iowa* (1879), p. 167.

division and asked for a school for about one hundred Indian and half-breed children. John Connolly emphasized the need of laying out a town at "Keokuck" on account of its favorable situation for the commerce of the Mississippi: the survey and division of the half-breed lands would attract "many men of capital and high standing". Another man familiar with conditions upon the Tract recommended the employment of a Catholic priest to look after the education and religion of the half-breeds, because most of their fathers were French Catholics. During the spring and autumn of 1832 United States government employees surveyed the town-site of Keokuk, one mile square, and also laid out the town of Montrose on Tesson's old Spanish land grant. By March 12, 1833, the whole Half-breed Tract had been surveyed, but not until several months later was it divided among the half-breed claimants.¹⁰

The pioneer historian of the first permanent settlement in the Iowa country recorded the death of Dr. Samuel C. Muir, due to an epidemic of cholera which raged throughout the Mississippi Valley in 1832. The population increased slightly about this time, and as a result trade competition became more intense. The American Fur Company accordingly sold its buildings at Keokuk to Isaac Campbell who, besides furnishing entertainment to the traveling public and towing and lightening steamboats around the rapids, cleared and fenced over twenty acres of land for corn and potatoes and supplied Indians, half-breeds, and whites with all the necessities of life. Frontier society at Keokuk was typically crude and rough, as may be gathered from the historical accounts of life in this region.¹¹ In 1833, in accordance with the terms of the treaty which closed the Black Hawk War in September, 1832, the occu-

¹⁰ THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XIII, pp. 161-163.

¹¹ *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. V, pp. 890, 892, 893.

pants of the Sac village removed, leaving the few whites upon the half-breed lands tenants by sufferance.

FORT DES MOINES No. 1

Alive to the future danger from Indians west of the Mississippi and mindful of the expense of life and money incurred by the Black Hawk War of 1832, Congress in 1833 made provision for the better defense of the frontier by authorizing the establishment of a regiment of dragoons, with headquarters at Jefferson Barracks near St. Louis. Congress thus appears to have given ear to the words of Secretary of War Lewis Cass when he said: "We owe protection to the emigrants, and it has been solemnly promised to them; and this duty can only be fulfilled by repressing and punishing every attempt to disturb the general tranquillity. Policy and humanity equally dictate this course; and there is reason to hope that the display of this force will itself render unnecessary its hostile employment."¹²

On the nineteenth day of May, 1834, scarcely a year after emigrants began to pour into the eastern Iowa wilderness, Lieutenant Colonel Stephen W. Kearny was ordered to take up winter quarters near the mouth of the Des Moines River with the dragoon companies of Captains Sumner, Boone, and Browne. Quartermaster George H. Crosman was sent ahead with a number of men to build barracks and stables.¹³ Just north of the apple orchard on Louis Tesson's old Spanish land grant Crosman selected a site for the buildings. Materials for the stables were prepared at St. Louis, brought up by boat, and put together on the ground. William Skinner, a Keokuk settler, received a contract to make twenty thousand clapboards at twenty dollars per thousand, delivered. Having completed this work by saw-

¹² *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. III, p. 351

¹³ *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VI, p. 524.

ing up the best timber on the river bluffs between Keokuk and the site of the fort, he was engaged at sixty dollars per month to superintend the erection of log barracks to be used as sleeping-quarters and mess-rooms. Kearny's quarters were constructed of willow logs lightly "scutched" or "scarified". Skinner also made hay and otherwise prepared for the coming of the dragoon companies, while Alexander Cruikshank by means of a crude kiln produced lime for the government and built stone chimneys for the barracks.¹⁴

Setting out from the vicinity of Fort Gibson on the Arkansas River on the third day of September, Lieutenant Colonel Kearny, three captains, and one hundred and seven non-commissioned officers, musicians, and privates completed the long overland journey to the Des Moines River in three weeks, with horses none the worse for wear. Having undergone severe privations on an expedition to the plains of the far West during the winter and summer just past, and expecting to find their new quarters in a state of readiness, comfortable and convenient, the dragoons were not a little disappointed when called upon to help complete the buildings before winter weather set in. Such was the beginning of "Camp Des Moines, Michigan Territory", later called Fort Des Moines.¹⁵

Intended not as a permanent post but rather as a base for operations in the wilderness country farther west, Fort Des Moines did not play an important part in American military history. In the spring of 1835 the arrival of recruits increased the garrison to one hundred and fifty-seven men,

¹⁴ *The History of Lee County* (1879), pp. 380, 381, 382.

¹⁵ *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VII, p. 114; *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. III, p. 353; *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XII, pp. 180-182. This fort is usually referred to as Fort Des Moines No. 1 for the purpose of distinguishing it from the later post by the same name where the city of Des Moines now stands.

and about the same time came orders for work to be done. Lieutenant Colonel Kearny obeyed, and setting out from Fort Des Moines on June 7th the three companies proceeded up the Des Moines Valley through an uninhabited country. On their way to find the mouth of the Raccoon River they passed two Sac and Fox villages, and then directing their course northwestward, they came to the mouth of the Boone River, many miles north of the point which they expected to visit. The dragoons then marched northeastward to Wabasha's Sioux village on the Mississippi, encountering buffaloes on their way through a picturesque wilderness of hills, valleys, and stretches of prairie.

After a week's encampment in the Minnesota country the expedition proceeded in a westward direction and then southward to the East Fork of the Des Moines. Fording this stream they descended to the Raccoon River, where Kearny examined the country for a suitable site for a fort and reported no spot especially desirable, although the point of land at the junction of the rivers answered the purpose best of all. Kearny expressed the opinion that if a new military post were needed to protect the Missouri frontiers, a fort at the Raccoon Fork would be too far away; and if it were needed to preserve peace between the Sac and Fox tribes and the Sioux, a better site could be found in the Neutral Ground on the upper Des Moines. Moreover, Kearny reported that, whatever the War Department saw fit to do, another military establishment in the Sac and Fox country was decidedly opposed by the Indians because "the Whites would drive off the little game that is left in their country."¹⁶

Kearny despatched Lieutenant Albert M. Lea, one private, and one Indian to descend the Des Moines in a cottonwood "dug-out" for the purpose of ascertaining the

¹⁶ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. III, pp. 356, 357.

practicability of navigation with keel-boats. Lea sounded all shoals, took courses with a pocket compass, estimated distances from bend to bend by the time and rate of motion, sketched every notable thing, and landed occasionally to examine the geology of the rocks. The little party reached Keokuk without accident and arrived at Fort Des Moines many days before the main body of dragoons, who returned on August 19th after a march of 1100 miles.¹⁷ Two members of the expeditionary force left records of the long journey: one kept a brief daily journal of events and another, Lieutenant Lea, availed himself of his experience on the expedition and of information gathered from surveyors, traders, explorers, and residents to compile and publish a booklet on the "Iowa District" of what in 1836 became by act of Congress the Territory of Wisconsin. Lea's *Notes* on the new country were intended to appeal to emigrants, speculators, and legislators.¹⁸ A quotation from his general description of the Des Moines Valley may well be included here:

The Des Moines River and its Tributaries afford fine lands, well diversified with wood and prairie, as far up as I am acquainted with them, some fifty miles above the "Upper Forks." There is much that is inviting in the general character of the country bordering on the Des Moines; level meadows, rolling woodlands, and deep forests, present themselves by turns. The soil is usually rich and productive: and when there are no natural springs, there is no difficulty in obtaining water, by digging, at almost any point in the highland-prairies.

Lea declared the Des Moines River navigable without difficulty for one hundred and seventy miles in a tolerable stage of water after the removal of some snags and loose rocks. For ninety-six miles more, as far as to the Raccoon

¹⁷ *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VI, pp. 546-553; *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. VII, pp. 333, 364-378.

¹⁸ Lea's *Notes on Wisconsin Territory*, pp. iii, iv.

River, the channel was shallow, crooked, and filled with rocks, sand-bars, and snags, although keel-boats and perhaps even steamboats might navigate that portion of the stream during the spring and fall. Bituminous coal of excellent quality was found abundantly along this portion of the river, and there were other mineral productions. Thus did Lieutenant Lea attempt "to place within reach of the public, correct information in regard to a very interesting portion of the Western country, especially that part of it known as the *Iowa District*".¹⁹

Nothing further of importance can be added to the history of Fort Des Moines No. 1. Besides the evils of an unhealthful situation the fort experienced more desertions, it is said, than any other military post in the United States.²⁰ In the autumn of 1836 a town had been laid out on the mile square on which the fort then stood; lots had been sold; and buildings had begun to appear. All this was the work of the heirs of Thomas F. Riddick to whom the land belonged. Outside the new town-site other persons were setting up establishments with the object of selling liquor to the Indians and soldiers. Soon after the appearance of settlers, however, orders were issued that the post be broken up without delay, and accordingly the dragoons began to make preparations to march away. Although the town boom had ceased in March, 1837, the government did not abandon its plan. Waiting until "the grass might be sufficiently high to afford grazing for the horses, as corn cannot be had on some parts of the route", the dragoons evacuated Fort Des Moines on the first day of June, 1837, and proceeded to Fort Leavenworth on the Missouri River.

¹⁹ Lea's *Notes on Wisconsin Territory*, pp. 24, 25.

²⁰ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. III, pp. 358, 359; *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XII, pp. 180, 181.

Having notified the Secretary of War that the United States had intruded upon private lands and asking that the fort buildings and property be turned over in consideration of such illegal occupation, Riddick's heirs, after many years of litigation to prove their title to the premises at last came into possession of their own.²¹

IMMIGRATION TO THE DES MOINES VALLEY

The Indian title to the Black Hawk Purchase became extinct on the first of June, 1833, and the fee simple then became vested in the government of the United States. Many persons at once crossed the Mississippi and others moved northward from the State of Missouri to squat upon the new public domain. The pioneer whites of the Half-breed Tract near the mouth of the Des Moines River thus received a slight accession to their population, and though all alike were trespassers in the eye of the law the government virtually made no attempt to remove them from the lands which they had selected. Immigration increased²² somewhat in the year 1834 and claims became more and more numerous. In this year also Congress relinquished the government's reversionary rights to the Half-breed Tract and the half-breed owners then began to sell their undivided shares to all who were speculative enough to invest. Consequently, owing to the unsettled condition of titles, few persons cared to settle and improve these lands, despite their excellent situation and fertility. The same was true of town lots at Keokuk.²³

In the spring of 1835 home-seekers began to come in larger numbers — some by wagon, others by boat — from

²¹ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. III, pp. 359, 360-362; *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XIII, p. 243.

²² *The History of Lee County* (1879), pp. 379, 380.

²³ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. X, pp. 451, 452, 460; *Lea's Notes on Wisconsin Territory*, pp. 18, 19, 26, 27, 35.

New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky. Steamboats upon the Ohio and the Mississippi brought passengers and household and farm utensils, while ferry boats plied ceaselessly between the Iowa and the Illinois shores transporting the horses and wagons and live-stock of incoming settlers.²⁴

An English tourist described Keokuk in the autumn of 1835 as "the lowest and most blackguard place" he had yet visited: "its population is composed chiefly of the water-men who assist in loading and unloading the keel-boats, and in towing them up when the rapids are too strong for the steam-engines." These men were described as "a coarse and ferocious caricature of the London bargemen," whose chief occupation consisted in drinking, fighting, and gambling.²⁵ Unfortunately the traveler left no picture of the pioneers who had come to found homes and to clear and till farms in the wilderness. He might have found them dwelling in tents, wagons, log cabins, and other kinds of makeshifts.²⁶ By that time, naturally enough, the best locations for farms and towns had been picked out upon or near the Mississippi, the Des Moines, and other rivers, because these avenues of nature afforded the only ready means of travel and transportation, matters of prime importance in the life of wilderness inhabitants. The progress of the western movement in the space of two brief years was noted by a dragoon who wrote that the land was rapidly being occupied "by emigrants from all the states & Europe."²⁷ Lieutenant Lea in the following words made much the same observation when he descended the Des Moines River in August, 1835:

²⁴ *The History of Lee County* (1879), p. 385.

²⁵ *Murray's Travels in North America*, Vol. II, p. 96.

²⁶ *The History of Lee County* (1879), p. 387.

²⁷ *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. VII, p. 378.

It is about seventy-five miles from the mouth, by water, to the Indian boundary. The lands, on both sides of the river, throughout the greater part of this distance, are exceedingly fertile, and many of them are covered with forests of the finest walnut, oak, ash, elm, and cherry; and back of these wooded bottoms are extensive prairies, both flat and rolling. The settlements have long since . . . extended along the river entirely up to the line [now about the western boundary of Van Buren County], and are beginning to spread out on either side, especially towards the head waters of Sugar creek [in Lee County]. There are already some extensive farms along this river, and others are in rapid progress.²⁸

Thus did the pioneers occupy unsurveyed government lands, individually respecting each other's rights to lands staked out as claims and collectively uniting to maintain their rights "against any unjust action of the Government, or against any attempt at improper speculation by capitalists at a distance."²⁹ Immigration in 1836 increased very materially. Indeed, the rush is said to have been so great during the summer season "that the small ferry-boat at Fort Madison was kept busy almost day and night, crossing those who came by land", while others disembarked from steamboats at the landings at Keokuk and Fort Madison.³⁰ So many persons had flocked to the Black Hawk Purchase or, as it now came to be called, the Iowa District of Wisconsin Territory, that two more notable additions to the public domain of the United States were soon made by outright purchases of Indian territory: the Sacs and Foxes

²⁸ Lea's *Notes on Wisconsin Territory*, p. 25.

²⁹ Lea's *Notes on Wisconsin Territory*, p. 20.

³⁰ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. VI, p. 5; *The History of Lee County* (1879), p. 388.

In his *Sketches of Iowa* (1841), p. 109, J. B. Newhall declared:

"At the commencement of the settlements upon the Des Moines, so strikingly beautiful did the verdant banks appear, that every delighted settler fancied his farm possessed the peculiar attributes of a town site; hence, literally, the farms were, at the commencement, staked off into towns. Accordingly in Van Buren County too many towns were laid out and trade was diverted from any particular place."

gave up their claims to Keokuk's Reserve in the autumn of 1836 and to a million and a quarter acres of land situated west of the Black Hawk Purchase in 1837.

THE REMOVAL OF INDIAN VILLAGES FROM KEOKUK'S RESERVE
TO THE DES MOINES VALLEY

Sometime before surrendering all their rights in the territory which bordered on the Mississippi the Sacs and Foxes set up two villages in the Des Moines Valley, beyond the pale of the white settlements. On the present site of South Ottumwa, Chief Appanoose established himself and his band in the spring of 1834 and called the village Ah-taum-way-e-nauk (Perseverance Town). Ten or fifteen miles below, just west of the Indian boundary line, in the region that is now northeastern Davis County, Keokuk chose a spot for his tribesmen.³¹ Here the bands were dwelling in the summer of 1835, when the dragoons under Lieutenant Colonel Kearny visited them. Appanoose's town, according to an eye-witness, stood upon "a handsome Prairie & for an Indian town is very handsome & appears to be increasing in wealth and population." Keokuk's village made a good impression upon a dragoon by reason of its neatness and the apparent comfort of its population, who were "the most decent in their manner of living of any Indians I have seen."³²

Thither in the autumn of 1835 went their government Indian agent, General Joseph M. Street, accompanied by the famous painter of Indian portraits, George Catlin, and a corporal's command of eight dragoons furnished by

³¹ Fulton's *The Red Men of Iowa*, pp. 239, 257. See also a map of the Black Hawk Purchase surveyed by Charles De Ward acting for William Gordon in October, 1835. For Rev. Cutting Marsh's visit to the Sac and Fox towns upon the Red Cedar, Iowa, and Des Moines rivers in 1834, see his report in *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. VI, pp. 201-203.

³² THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. VII, pp. 366, 367, 377.

Lieutenant Colonel Kearny. Catlin wrote as follows of this unique experience:³³

The whole country that we passed over was like a garden, wanting only cultivation, being mostly prairie, and we found their village beautifully situated on a large prairie, on the bank of the Des Moines River. They seemed to be well supplied with the necessaries of life, and with some of its luxuries. I found Ke-o-kuk to be a chief of fine and portly figure, with a good countenance, and great dignity and grace in his manners.

General Street had some documents from Washington, to read to him, which he and his chiefs listened to with great patience; after which he placed before us good brandy and good wine, and invited us to drink, and to lodge with him; he then called up five of his *runners* or *criers*, communicated to them in a low, but emphatic tone, the substance of the talk from the agent, and of the letters read to him, and they started at full gallop — one of them proclaiming it through his village, and the others sent express to the other villages, comprising the whole nation. Ke-o-kuck came in with us, with about twenty of his principal men — he brought in all his costly wardrobe, that I might select for his portrait such as suited me best; but at once named (of his own accord) the one that was purely Indian. In that he paraded for several days, and in it I painted him at full length. He is a man of a great deal of pride, and makes truly a splendid appearance on his black horse. He owns the finest horse in the country, and is excessively vain of his appearance when mounted, and arrayed, himself and horse, in all their gear and trappings. He expressed a wish to see himself represented on horseback, and I painted him in that plight. He rode and netted his prancing steed in front of my door, until its sides were in a gore of blood. I succeeded to *his* satisfaction, and his vanity is increased, no doubt, by seeing himself immortalized in that way. After finishing him, I painted his favourite wife (the favoured one of seven), his favourite boy, and eight or ten of his principal men and women; after which, he and all his men shook hands with me, wishing me well, and leaving, as tokens of regard, the most valued article of his dress, and a beautiful string of wampum, which he took from his wife's neck.

³³ *Smithsonian Report*, 1885, Part II, pp. 500, 501, 525; *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VIII, p. 311; Catlin's *North American Indians* (Chatto and Windus), Vol. II, pp. 149, 150.

They then departed for their village in good spirits, to prepare for their *fall hunt*.

Chief Keokuk's Reserve upon the Iowa River practically divided the Iowa District into two parts. Owing to the rush of emigration to the West negotiations were soon opened for the purchase of this tract. By virtue of a treaty concluded on September 28, 1836, and ratified by the United States Senate in February, 1837, the Sacs and Foxes gave up their title to the land and agreed not to return for fishing, hunting, or planting after the first of November, 1836. It is reported that when Henry Dodge, Governor of Wisconsin Territory, requested the chiefs and braves to remove their families and property from the cession to make room for the whites, the Indians became excited and then burst into hearty laughter. This behavior one of them explained as follows:³⁴

My father, we have to laugh — we require no time to move — we have all left the lands already, and sold our wigwams to Chemokemons (white men) — some for one hundred, and some for two hundred dollars, before we came to this Treaty. There are already four hundred Chemokemons on the land, and several hundred more on their way moving in; and three days before we came away, one Chemokemon sold his wigwam to another Chemokemon for two thousand dollars, to build a great town.

Thus, ahead of "people from the East, enlightened and intelligent — with industry and perseverance that will soon rear from the soil all the luxuries, and add to the surface, all the taste and comforts of Eastern refinement",³⁵ the Sacs and Foxes had taken up their line of march to lands farther west. From their sale of the Iowa River lands they realized a cash payment of \$30,000, the sum of \$10,000 annually in specie for ten years, and \$48,458. 87½ with which

³⁴ Catlin's *North American Indians* (Chatto and Windus), Vol. II, p. 216.

³⁵ Catlin's *North American Indians* (Chatto and Windus), Vol. II, pp. 216, 217.

to satisfy the claims of traders against them for goods sold and delivered. Sac and Fox debts had accumulated since 1832 and numerous "just creditors" presented their bills for settlement, among them Pratte, Chouteau & Co. of St. Louis, John Campbell, S. S. Phelps & Co., George Davenport, Antoine Le Claire, and Francis Labachiere. It was agreed that one half of the amount ascertained to be due should be paid at once, while the other half should be paid later out of the Sac and Fox annuities, for which purpose \$5000 was to be set aside each year beginning in 1838. The United States, furthermore, undertook to supply the Indians with two hundred horses in June, 1837.³⁶ In all of this there is manifested the government's desire to confer benefit upon the tribesmen and to present new opportunities to home-seekers, but most of all there is evidence of the successful dictation of treaties by Indian traders who had their own selfish interests at heart. They exploited the natives by a system of bartering goods for cash and furs and also by giving unlimited credit in the hope of a government payment later on. They also found it to their best interests to have the Indians removed from the temptations of civilized life to the open western country where the skins of game animals could still be secured for a most lucrative trade in the fur markets of the world. And so, the traders

³⁶ The treaty also provided \$1000 to the widow of Felix St. Vrain, the Sac and Fox Indian agent who had been murdered at the outbreak of the Black Hawk War. One thousand dollars each was given to seven half-breeds, the children of Wharton R. McPherson, James Thorn, Joseph Smart, Nathan Smith, Wayman, Mitchell, and Amos Farrar, \$2000 being paid to Joseph M. Street for the use and benefit of the children of the last two. At the special request of the tribes two hundred dollars was paid to Street for the children of the late John Connolly, James and Thompson Connolly.

Other persons to whom the United States paid various sums of money were Jeremiah Smith, Stephen Dubois, Nathaniel Knapp, Wharton R. McPherson, Jesse W. Shull, James Jordan, the owners of the Steamboat "Warrior", Nathaniel Patterson, Mesdames St. Ament, Gunville, Le Claire, and Miss Blondeau.—Kappler's *Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, pp. 353-355.

had nothing to lose and everything to gain when they urged and supported Indian treaties such as the one of 1836.

THE TREATY OF 1837

In the autumn of the year 1837 about thirty Sac and Fox chiefs and delegates left their villages upon the Des Moines River and journeyed by water to the East, conducted by their Indian agent, Joseph M. Street, and the portly half-breed interpreter, Antoine Le Claire. Besides visiting New York and Boston, where they are said to have given a war dance on the Common,³⁷ they met the government's commissioner at Washington and concluded a treaty on October 21st. This time they sold 1,250,000 acres of land lying west of the previous cessions upon the Mississippi River — a narrow strip of territory along the whole western border of the Black Hawk cession of 1832. The reasons for the sale are not clear, unless it be that the Indians and their traders again wanted relief: certain it is that the whites had not filled all the best vacant lands of the "Iowa District".

In return for fertile lands the United States agreed to survey the new tract and pay all Sac and Fox debts up to \$100,000: if these debts amounted to a larger sum, the creditors were to be paid pro rata, and if the debts aggregated less, the Indians were to receive the surplus. The government gave further evidence of its generosity by promising to give the Indians \$28,500 worth of goods suited to their wants; to build two grist mills and furnish two millers for five years at a cost of \$10,000; to break and fence certain Sac and Fox lands and provide "for other beneficial objects" at a cost of \$24,000; to pay \$2000 a year for five years for the services of laborers and other objects to aid

³⁷ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. II, pp. 100, 101; *The History of Lee County* (1879), pp. 360, 361.

the Indians in agriculture; and also deliver \$4500 worth of horses and presents to the chiefs and delegates on their arrival at St. Louis. The government further agreed to invest \$200,000 in safe State stocks and pay the Indians a five percent income each year in money or goods as the tribes might direct, although the President of the United States might order some of the income to be spent on education or other improvements, if the Indians so desired. The treaty also stipulated that two blacksmith establishments and one gunsmith shop should be removed from the lands sold to the new location of the tribe; while the Indians themselves should depart westward within eight months after the Senate's ratification of the treaty — the only important exception being that Chief Keokuk might retain possession of his village for two years.³⁸

After the Indian deputation returned to the West, James Jordan,³⁹ William Phelps, and John Tolman are said to have paid \$3000 for the rights of Keokuk and his tribesmen to remain upon the lands which they had sold. The Indians accordingly vacated their village in 1838 and crossed the new Indian boundary to establish themselves on lands a few miles farther up the Des Moines River near the present site of Ottumwa. In the spring of 1838 Keokuk's old village site was laid off by its speculating owners and called Iowaville.⁴⁰ Just across the Des Moines the aged Black

³⁸ Kappler's *Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, pp. 367, 368.

³⁹ The date of Jordan's coming to the Iowa country is very uncertain. In *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. VIII, p. 58, it is 1819, and in an article in the *Des Moines Leader*, July 26, 1886, the date is given as 1822. This and other evidence conflicts.

⁴⁰ The site of this town in the northeastern part of Davis County was the scene, it is said, of a battle between the Ioways and the allied Sacs and Foxes in the early twenties — the date is variously given as 1821, 1823, and 1824. The story of the battle as told by A. W. Harlan who claims that he heard it from the lips of an Indian chief sounds somewhat improbable when it is known that these Indian tribes had for a long time been friendly tenants-in-common of the Iowa wilderness. The fact seems to be that the Ioways left their vil-

Hawk maintained his residence until the time of his death a few months later. Here, too, William and Peter Avery are reported to have served the American Fur Company until 1842, building a blockhouse for their protection. The first steamboat reaching the new frontier town was the American Fur Company's boat "Pavilion".⁴¹

LIFE AT THE SAC AND FOX AGENCY

After their return from Washington in November, 1837, the Sacs and Foxes did little but live upon the government's presents of horses and merchandise, drink whiskey, and associate with the whites, many of whom had settled on Indian lands. Had the squaws not raised considerable quantities of corn, beans, and pumpkins in the summer of 1838 the Indians must have died from hunger, for the Foxes had killed very little game and the Sacs had not attempted to hunt because their vicinity was practically destitute of game. The poverty of the tribes resulted from withholding provisions and also from the sale of liquor by small dealers and border settlers, many of whom presented large claims when the government undertook to liquidate the indebtedness of the tribes. The Sac and Fox Indian agent reported that the whites had dispensed more whiskey among the natives in 1838 than at any other time since 1834.

It was to get away from the border whiskey-sellers that Joseph M. Street selected a site for his Sac and Fox Agency some miles west of the new Indian boundary and only an hour's ride from the principal Indian village. The contract

laid on the Des Moines about this time and later dwelt in what is now north-western Missouri, but that the removal followed "a big battle and massacre" by the Sacs and Foxes cannot be authenticated. The story of "this decisive and bloody conflict" is detailed in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VII, pp. 190, 191. Other accounts based upon it are to be found in *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. III, pp. 483-487, Vol. X, p. 296; *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. II, p. 182.

⁴¹ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. VIII, pp. 57-59.

for constructing the necessary buildings was let to the lowest bidder, a citizen of Missouri, who started from his home with teams, some of his slaves, and an ample force of mechanics and laborers, and soon had a large number of men at work on the agency grounds. In August, 1838, the council-house of hewn logs was ready. A visitor to the place also found timbers prepared for the agent's house, two heavy teams of horses breaking up the prairie sod, wagons hauling fence rails, and a blacksmith hard at work: "the hospitable-looking camp of tents and board sheds, . . . the blazing fire, over which two or three female Africans were busy at the steaming coffee, bacon, biscuits and divers vegetables of the season, excited in his mind an impression of the new agency, the satisfactory contentment of which has never to this day worn off."⁴² Although the agency buildings were to have been ready in the autumn, they were not finished until after General Street took possession early in 1839. He had had his office on Rock Island as Indian agent for nearly five years, while his wife and children lived at Prairie du Chien. All now took up their residence in the Sac and Fox country.⁴³

Mr. and Mrs. Richard Kerr, having been appointed farmer and matron to the Indians, soon arrived. A suitable location was selected for the pattern or model farm and operations were begun at once. Agent Street wished to make a practical demonstration of his motto: "Teach him agriculture and his family domestic economy, give him by experience right notions of individual property, and the plan of civilizing the Indian commences with the A, B, C, of civilization."⁴⁴ Two saw and grist mills were also con-

⁴² *The History of Lee County* (1879), pp. 363, 364.

⁴³ *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. III, p. 530; *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. VI, p. 373. Joseph M. Street was appointed Sac and Fox agent on Rock Island on March 4, 1835.

⁴⁴ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. II, p. 103.

structed: one upon Sugar Creek, the other upon Soap Creek, and Jeremiah and Samuel Smith were placed in charge as millers. The mills were soon destroyed by freshets and even when rebuilt made no appeal to the Indians. The pattern farm and agricultural experiments near the villages succeeded no better. Josiah A. Smart, Charles H. Withington, Joshua W. Baker, Harvey Sturdivant, Job Smith, William and David Fullerton, Henry Plumber, Preston Roberts, and a man named Counon, all came to the agency as government employees in various capacities.⁴⁵

Street's experience during the summer of 1838 indicated that little good could be done for the Indians unless white people and whiskey could be more effectively excluded from the Indian country. When Street came to pay the Sacs and Foxes their annuities, not less than one hundred white men crowded into the new log council-house, and upon being requested to retire to permit the tribesmen to enter and receive their money, they went out and removed "all the chinking between the logs to look in and see what was going on." To quote further from the agent's report:

After the payment, the Indians paid to these small dealers, whiskey sellers, etc., something over \$12,000 in specie, and the Foxes took \$3,000 to pay the claimants, they said, not there. I mention these facts to show the Department the absolute necessity of the exclusion of the whites, except licensed traders, for the Sac and Fox country; and in relation to these I would add, that the only hope I can entertain of a benefit to the Indians is in the exclusion of all white men, but one trader, from the Indian country, whose goods and prices should be controlled by the United States agent, or that the United States take the trade into their own hands and exclude all traders, etc.⁴⁶

In his annual report for 1839 Agent Street gave 4396 as

⁴⁵ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. VI, p. 368; *The History of Lee County* (1879), pp. 160, 362; *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 26th Congress, No. 126, p. 4.

⁴⁶ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. VI, pp. 367, 368.

the number of Sacs and Foxes dwelling in three villages a few miles from the agency and in Poweshiek's village on the Iowa River one hundred miles away. Although they now possessed mills and millers and broken fields for agriculture no benefits had yet accrued to the tribesmen because there was too much whiskey. In the summer liquor arrived at the Indian towns in barrels in open violation and defiance of the Territorial law passed in January prohibiting such commerce with the Indians. Some whites had actually crossed the boundary line, planted crops, fenced fields, built houses, and absolutely refused to leave: "in some of these houses the vilest practices take place to defraud the Indians. A man named Reason Jordan has built, two or three miles above the line, on the Indian lands, and refuses to remove until he shall please." Physical force was needed to drive out the intruders.⁴⁷

The Indians, strongly attached to Agent Street because he had their best interests at heart, were plunged into deep grief when they received word of his death at the agency in May, 1840. In the hope of succeeding to Street's position and also of preventing Mrs. Street and her children from being turned out of their new home, a son-in-law, John Beach, made a rapid twelve-day journey from Dubuque to Washington and obtained the appointment as Indian agent. Arriving at the agency in June, he found the following persons in residence: Mrs. Street and nine children, interpreter Josiah A. Smart and his Sac wife, blacksmith Charles H. Withington, gunsmith Harvey Sturdivant, and some half-dozen people on the pattern farm. Not far away lived William Phelps, the trader, and on Sugar Creek lived the millwright and miller, Jeremiah Smith, with his family. Then south of the river dwelt a West Virginian named Van Caldwell. It seems that he and others had unknowingly

⁴⁷ *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 26th Congress, No. 1, pp. 498-500.

gone across the boundary and settled in the Indian country. He alone was allowed to remain upon condition that he maintain a ferry across the Des Moines River so as to make the mill on Soap Creek seven miles away to the southward accessible to government employees and all other persons during times of high water. Also, from five to seven miles west of the agency across the Des Moines stood the villages of Keokuk, Wapello, and Appanoose with their improved fields. Farther up the river was the village of Hardfish and ten miles north of it another village on the Skunk River (in 1841).⁴⁸

In his first report in the autumn of 1840 Beach notified the government that a Sac and Fox war party had attacked and killed several Sioux and Winnebago Indians, that the mills had been destroyed by freshets, and that the farms did not yield much. Indeed, at one time the Indians took down a fence and drove their ponies into a field of young wheat.⁴⁹ Such was their inclination to farm. A year later one mill had been rebuilt, a bolt had been set up for the manufacture of flour, and the farm contained one hundred and seventy-seven acres of cultivated land, most of which with its crops of corn and oats had been fenced in with rails. Potatoes and turnips were expected for distribution. Agent Beach also made the following interesting statement:

But the cultivation which appears to render the greatest satisfaction of the Indians is that of two acres in watermelons. About one half of those residing on the Des Moines are alternately invited once in each week, and several hundred melons issued to them. As this is, perhaps, the only article which they prefer to whiskey, they readily come several miles to procure them. Two beeves have been killed, and three others are fattening, for the Indians.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Fulton's *The Red Men of Iowa*, p. 354; *The History of Lee County* (1879), p. 365; *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. III, p. 531; *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. II, pp. 101, 387; *Senate Documents*, 2nd Session, 27th Congress, No. 1, p. 351.

⁴⁹ *Senate Documents*, 2nd Session, 26th Congress, No. 1, pp. 327-330.

⁵⁰ *Senate Documents*, 2nd Session, 27th Congress, No. 1, pp. 350, 351.

As early as the year 1834 a difference of opinion had arisen among the Sacs and Foxes about the government method of paying annuities. At that time the chiefs of two Fox villages, Poweshiek and Appanoose, sent to the President a petition signed by over four hundred Fox hunters and warriors. They complained that the annuities paid to Keokuk had been given by him to the American Fur Company and they had received nothing.⁵¹ In time Hardfish, head of the upper village, became the leader of those who objected to having money paid to irresponsible chiefs: they favored the direct payment of government annuities to the heads of families, and were supported in their contention by the Iowa legislators. At the council which was held in the agency house on September 28, 1840, in the presence of Governor Robert Lucas, the Indians could not conciliate their differences and so the payment was deferred. In the month of July, 1841, Governor John Chambers visited the Indians and probably discussed their dissensions with them, for not long afterward John Beach, the Indian agent, notified him that the two bands had at last solved their difficulty. Hardfish's band was to receive a part of the money due for distribution to the heads of families, while Keokuk's band was to receive the remainder for payment to the chiefs.⁵²

On October 12, 1841, Governor Chambers and T. Hartley Crawford, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, arranged to pay the Sac and Fox annuities to the heads of families in proportion to numbers. A census was accordingly taken, twenty-three hundred souls were counted, and the money for two years was then distributed. Enriched by the sum of \$82,000, they paid some of their debts and spent the rest for whiskey, horses, and merchandise: they bought from the traders everything they wanted for cash and more on

⁵¹ *House Executive Documents*, 2nd Session, 23d Congress, Nos. 63, 64.

⁵² *Senate Documents*, 2nd Session, 27th Congress, No. 1, p. 349.

credit.⁵³ It was under such unfavorable conditions that a few days later the United States commissioners, John Chambers, James D. Doty, and T. Hartley Crawford, with their secretary, James W. Grimes, met the Sacs and Foxes at the agency according to instructions to obtain a cession of all the land they possessed in Iowa. The Indians were requested to deliberate and answer "without allowing themselves to be influenced by the counsel of white men, who were excluded from all participation in their deliberations."⁵⁴ Mr. Crawford, just arrived from Washington, offered them one million dollars and money enough to pay all their debts, and added:

The country we wish you to remove to . . . will be on the head waters of the Des Moines, and west of the Blue Earth river. To remove apprehension of hostilities from your red brothers in that section [the Sioux Indians], we propose to establish and man three forts there for your protection, to be established before your removal from your present villages. Out of the million of dollars we propose that you have farms and farmers, mills and millers, blacksmiths, gunsmiths, school-houses, and a fine council-house. But, what will be of more value to you than all, we would propose to build a house for each family, each house to be worth not exceeding one hundred and fifty dollars, and to fence and plough six acres of ground for each family. We propose to build for each of the chiefs a house worth not exceeding three hundred dollars, and fence and plough twelve acres of ground for each. We then intend you all to live in one village like brothers. This is the proposition we are authorized to make. If you will once try this mode of life you will never quit it. The white people have found it good. You will be happy with your wives and children, in fine, warm, and close houses. Your children will grow strong and be healthy, if kept from the weather and well fed, and you will all live long. But to make your children respected, they should be taught to read and write. To enable them to do so, we propose to place fifty thousand

⁵³ Parish's *John Chambers*, pp. 170-176; *Senate Documents*, 2nd Session, 27th Congress, No. 1, pp. 275-277.

⁵⁴ *Senate Documents*, 2nd Session, 27th Congress, No. 1, pp. 253, 269.

dollars at interest for the purposes of education. If you will live in houses, cultivate the land, and educate your children, you will be contented and happy. I have now told you the terms upon which we propose to treat. You will probably want time to reflect upon this subject. In making this proposition I have been honest and plain with you, and I expect the same from you. Any other course of conduct would be unworthy of you and unjust to the Government.

Governor Chambers asked the chiefs and braves why the white people increased like leaves on the trees and why the Indians had decreased to only 2300 persons, and answered the question by telling them that white people lived in comfortable houses and had enough food to eat and sufficient clothing to wear. Besides, the red men used too much "liquor, impregnated with pepper and tobacco and other poisonous ingredients." The Sac chief Keokuk asked to have the proposal explained more fully the next day, and on Sunday, October 17th, the commissioners met the Indians in council to hear their answer. The Sac chief Hardfish declared that all were of one mind: they could not subsist in the poor prairie country offered them in exchange for their homes in the timber. Poweshiek, Pashepaho, Kishkekosh, Wishewahka, Keokuk, Wapello, and Appanoose all made short speeches and reiterated what Hardfish had said. Governor Chambers replied that they were mistaken about the region farther north, that there was timber, and that the government had only their best interests at heart and wished to remove them out of their present degraded condition. The Indians, however, were not to be won over, ended the negotiations, and went upon a spree such as they had never before known.⁵⁵

Not long after the failure of these negotiations the Ter-

⁵⁵ For James W. Grimes' minutes of the treaty negotiations see *Senate Documents*, 2nd Session, 27th Congress, No. 1, pp. 270-275. See also Parish's *John Chambers*, p. 176.

ritorial legislature of Iowa passed a resolution in favor of further negotiations early in 1842. A purchase of Indian territory had become absolutely necessary in view of "the great and unprecedented influx of people" who wanted fertile lands and expected the government to buy and open to settlement more of the western country. Besides, it was understood that the Sacs and Foxes were willing to dispose of at least a part of their lands.⁵⁶ On the other hand Governor Chambers' description of drunkenness among the red men struck no sympathetic chord in the legislature and hence no provision was made to suppress the illegitimate sale of liquor.⁵⁷ Then, in the month of February, 1842, the heads of the four Des Moines River villages called upon Agent Beach and expressed a desire to sell some of their country. In the spring and summer the destitute Pottawatamies and the Ioways visited them and as unwelcome guests helped to eat up their scanty supplies and game; some Sacs moved their homes fifty miles higher up the Des Moines; the buffalo hunt proved to be quite unsuccessful; revengeful whites burned down the mills; and the Sac and Fox census revealed a rapid decrease in numbers due to drunkenness. To such a condition had debt and poverty reduced them that they met the United States commissioners in council and disposed of the remainder of their territory in Iowa.⁵⁸ (See the terms of the treaty of 1842 below.)

The treaty of October, 1842, required the removal of the Indians to lands farther west and the abandonment of all the trading houses and the agency buildings. Only the pattern farm was to be operated for another year.⁵⁹ George Wilson, the farmer, took charge in November, finished a

⁵⁶ *House Executive Documents*, 2nd Session, 27th Congress, No. 86.

⁵⁷ Parish's *John Chambers*, p. 177.

⁵⁸ *Senate Documents*, 3d Session, 27th Congress, No. 1, pp. 424-427; Parish's *John Chambers*, p. 178.

⁵⁹ Kappler's *Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, p. 406 (Article VII of the treaty).

house for visiting Indians, and two corn cribs, and distributed the produce of the farm to the tribesmen, thus preventing much suffering during a winter of unusual length and severity. Owing to the malicious burning of the Indian mill on Soap Creek, Wilson was obliged to journey from forty to sixty miles to have wheat ground into flour. This with corn, potatoes, pork, beef, and oats and fodder for horses comprised the supplies furnished to the Indians. In the spring of 1843 the chiefs asked that the whole farm be planted in corn, but interminable rains made it impossible to comply with their wishes. Then, owing to a summer drouth not more than one-third of the usual crop was gathered, besides a small quantity of oats and hay. Such was the end of the history of the Sac and Fox Agency.⁶⁰

A FORT NEAR THE SAC AND FOX AGENCY: FORT SANFORD

John Beach, the Indian agent, had work to do when over-anxious, land-grabbing whites sought to gain a foothold in the Sac and Fox country. In his first annual report dated September 1, 1841, he made the following statement:⁶¹

Extensive infractions of the intercourse act, in that section prohibiting the surveying, marking of trees, and otherwise designating boundaries within the Indian territory, have been for several months past, and still are, constantly occurring. Information of the intended treaty [negotiations in fall of 1841] having become extensively circulated, has caused this portion of the country to be visited by large numbers of persons, some of whom occasion much annoyance to the Indians, beside committing acts in direct violation of the laws of the United States. Of the intruders who have settled upon Indian land, and have been frequently warned to remove therefrom, with most ample assurances of what would be the final result of pertinacity on their part, none have removed since my late special report upon the subject. I earnestly hope, as I then recommended, that no delay will be suffered in taking the necessary measures to convince these people of the potency of the law.

⁶⁰ *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 28th Congress, No. 1, pp. 384-386.

⁶¹ *Senate Documents*, 2nd Session, 27th Congress, No. 1, pp. 349, 350.

During the first two years of his incumbency Beach found it necessary three times to call in dragoon detachments from Fort Atkinson to drive out the intruders. Early in the year 1842 Governor Chambers asked the federal government to aid in expelling the squatters and preserving order. During the month of June a squad of dragoons under Lieutenant Leonidas Jenkins removed many persons from the Indian lands south of the Des Moines and returned to Fort Atkinson.⁶² His opinion that a sufficient military force should be stationed near the agency received the endorsement of the Governor when he urged the United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs to prevent the lawless element from returning to the Indians. Beach in the autumn of 1842 reported that incendiaries had burned the agency mills out of revenge for being removed from the Indian country and that they had terrorized the agency families by their acts of violence. Whiskey-sellers produced the most disgusting scenes of drunkenness; Beach and the Governor were shot in effigy; and Jeremiah Smith secretly removed a band of Indians to tour the country for exhibition purposes.⁶³ Concerning all these disorders and difficulties Beach wrote:

I know of no point upon our Indian frontier where the permanent presence of a military force is more essentially requisite than at this. . . . No obstruction, no means of prevention here exist to the continual passage to and fro in the Indian country of the most lawless and desperate characters, who can at any time commit outrages against order, morality, and the laws, with perfect impunity; and many of whom, feeling themselves aggrieved by their recent expulsions from the Indian country, are the more ready to revenge themselves by acts of violence.⁶⁴

In view of the disturbances narrated above and in prep-

⁶² *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IV, pp. 289, 290.

⁶³ Parish's *John Chambers*, p. 179.

⁶⁴ *Senate Documents*, 3d Session, 27th Congress, No. 1, pp. 425, 426.

aration for the time when the next annuities were to be paid to the Sacs and Foxes the War Department gave orders that a dragoon post be established wherever the Governor of Iowa Territory might direct.⁶⁵ On a journey to visit the agency early in September, 1842, Chambers found hundreds of landseekers infesting the border line, "ready to swoop across and take up the new land" as soon as they heard that a treaty of purchase had been made. Although some behaved themselves well, others drunkenly "threatened the Agent, the dragoons, and the Governor, and created so many kinds of disturbance that they must needs be placed under guard." Accordingly Chambers obtained a full company of dragoons from Fort Atkinson. These troops under Captain James Allen arrived at the agency early in October in time to preserve order during the important treaty negotiations between Governor Chambers and the Indians.⁶⁶ They were needed to guard against disturbances by the thousand or more whites in attendance, but an eye-witness took offence at their presence, as is shown by the following statement:

The treaty was conducted with great dignity and propriety, if we may except the introduction of dragoons to keep out citizens beyond hearing distance. Capt. Allen and Lt. Ruff, of the Dragoons are talented and gentlemanly officers, and were present in obedience to orders — but Gov. Chambers certainly believes too much in show, or greatly mistakes the character of our citizens, if he deems all this flummery and metal-button authority necessary to the order, dignity or success of a treaty.⁶⁷

On the twelfth of November the dragoons left their camp near the agency and found quarters in abandoned log cabins four miles to the westward, thanks to the kindness of John

⁶⁵ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IV, pp. 290, 291.

⁶⁶ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. I, p. 400; *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. X, p. 261.

⁶⁷ *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. X, pp. 263, 264.

F. A. Sanford, a son-in-law of Pierre Chouteau, Jr., and a member of the American Fur Company. Captain Allen named the post Fort Sanford, built log huts for two officers and stables for the horses in preparation for the winter, and during the month of November made an expedition with a portion of his company to the mouth of the Raccoon River. Once a week mail was carried by express from Fairfield, the nearest postoffice, twenty-one miles away. In official military circles the station went by the name of "Sac and Fox Agency".⁶⁸

THE SAC AND FOX TREATY OF 1842

Upon receipt of instructions from the United States government Governor John Chambers at once began to make preparations for treaty negotiations with the Sacs and Foxes. Knowing beforehand that the Indian traders were a factor first of all to be taken into account, he appointed Arthur Bridgman and Alfred Hebard to investigate and adjust the claims of all persons against the confederated tribes. When this work had been completed in three weeks time by weighing the testimony of both the Indians and the traders, Chambers with the interpreters, Antoine Le Claire and Josiah Smart, and a few others met the chiefs in a large circular tent set up for the occasion — the Governor in the uniform of a Brigadier General and the Indians in their best blankets, fresh paint, and fine feathers. When, after many days of oratory and counselling and dancing almost every night, the terms of the treaty had been agreed upon and signatures affixed on October 11, 1842, the Sacs and Foxes had parted with their title to all lands within the Territory of Iowa.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IV, pp. 164, 291, 292; THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XII, pp. 190-192.

⁶⁹ Parish's *John Chambers*, pp. 179, 181, 183; THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. X, p. 262.

Besides retaining the right to occupy their villages until May 1, 1843, and to occupy all their country to the west of a line drawn north and south through "painted or red rocks on the White Breast fork of the Des Moines river [in Marion County]," from then until October 11, 1845, the Indians were to receive each year an income of five percent on a fund of \$800,000; their debts were to be paid; and a tract of land on the Missouri River was to be assigned to them. Each of the principal chiefs became entitled to spend five hundred dollars annually as he saw fit. Moreover, a sum of \$30,000 was to be kept out of the annual payment for tribal and charitable purposes such as the support of the poor, the burial of the dead, the employment of physicians, and for provisions in case of necessity. The Indians were also to be free to ask for the payment of annuities in goods or provisions or for agricultural purposes. Among the minor stipulations were two of a sentimental nature: the Indians left one hundred dollars in the hands of John Beach for a tombstone in memory of their chief, Wapello, who lay buried beside their former agent, Joseph M. Street; and feeling under obligations to Mr. Street for many acts of kindness and wishing to give "his widow Mrs. Eliza M. Street one section of land to include the said graves, and the agency-house and enclosures around and near it", the United States agreed to give Mrs. Street "six hundred and forty acres of land in such legal subdivisions, as will include the said burial ground, the agency house, and improvements around, and near it, in good and convenient form, to be selected by the said E. M. Street or her duly authorized agent."⁷⁰

It will be noticed that, although many Indian tribes of the time had schools, the Sacs and Foxes obstinately refused to let the government establish schools among them, and dur-

⁷⁰ Kappler's *Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, pp. 404-407.

ing the treaty negotiations "they resisted every effort to induce them to make provision for the establishment of the *pattern farm*, which, under a former treaty, had been very successfully conducted for them, near their principal villages; and equally unsuccessful was the exertion of the commissioner to induce them to permit a portion of the proceeds of their land to be expended in the erection of comfortable houses for them, and the enclosure of small lots of land for cultivation."⁷¹

THE RACCOON RIVER AGENCY FROM 1843 TO 1845

Owing to the endless rains of April and May, 1843, the Sacs and Foxes found it impossible to move westward in compliance with the treaty provisions, but they abandoned their villages soon after the first of May. Ninety miles away, twenty-eight miles across the line which became the Indian boundary on that day, a location was selected for the Raccoon River Agency, so named because its buildings stood about half a mile east of the Des Moines and one mile and a quarter below the mouth of the Raccoon River. Not far from the agency house arose the residences of the interpreter and the smiths, as well as two blacksmith shops and two gunsmith shops, one set for each of the tribes. The new agency site, "in regard to beauty of appearance, quality of soil, and general position of ground," was far superior to any other in the vicinity — "a consideration of some importance in the final sale of the property." Practically everything was in readiness for a two years occupancy by the first of October, 1843.

Agent Beach succeeded only partially in his attempt to induce the Indians to take up their residence as near the agency as possible. About half of the Sacs and one band of Foxes built their villages near by, while the other Sacs set-

⁷¹ *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 28th Congress, No. 1, p. 374.

tled down about eight miles away and "the great majority of the Foxes, comprising the bands who had resided upon the Iowa and Skunk rivers, entertaining some jealousy of the other portion of the nation, as well as an aversion to the *Des Moines* country," fixed themselves about fifteen miles distant upon the Skunk River, not far from the new boundary line with its numerous whiskey shops.⁷² Inasmuch as the Indians had delayed their removal to this region on account of heavy rains and bad roads, they arrived too late to prepare the soil for the little corn and vegetables which their women usually raised. This fact, together with the losses and inconveniences incident to moving, reduced them to a condition of want and obliged the agent to purchase provisions for them. The next year, however, they cultivated considerable ground and raised a good quantity of corn. As an indication of their gradual decline in numbers the agent reported sixty-eight deaths for the year 1843-1844.⁷³

Rev. Benjamin A. Spaulding, a pioneer minister among the settlers, who occupied the old Sac and Fox Agency in Wapello County, visited the white population of nearly two hundred persons at the Raccoon River Agency and Fort Des Moines in 1844. He preached "to as many of these as could be crowded into a single room, officers, soldiers, merchants, mechanics, farmers, gentlemen, ladies, children and servants, both black and white." There had been much sickness and some deaths in the settlement. Mr. Spaulding, like the "circuit riders" of his day — among them a Methodist clergyman who had already called at this frontier place — expressed a willingness to make frequent visits to

⁷² *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 28th Congress, No. 1, pp. 374, 379-381. Poweshiek and Kishkekosh had their villages in Jasper County.—Fulton's *The Red Men of Iowa*, pp. 266, 268.

⁷³ *Senate Documents*, 2nd Session, 28th Congress, No. 1, pp. 417, 421, 422.

the agency, should other engagements permit. His description of an Indian village near by is worthy of repetition:⁷⁴

Their huge bark buildings present a fine appearance in the distance at twilight, but on a nearer approach by day they seem rather the haunts of beasts than the abodes of men. Not a tree or shrub, a garden or well, nor the slightest mark of beauty or comfort, was any where to be seen; even the wild grass had been beaten by continual trampling, till not a blade or root was left, and as the savages were away on a hunting expedition the stillness of death reigned over their desolate homes. There are several other villages on this and the neighboring rivers, containing in all about 2,200 persons all that is left of the Sacs and Foxes, those warlike tribes who filled the whole frontier with terror during the Black Hawk War.

Nothing of particular interest occurred at the agency during the ensuing year: periods of employment and of idleness recurred as did the seasons, "idleness and its attendant dissipation greatly preponderating over that devoted to any serviceable occupation." After receiving their annuities in September, 1844, the Indians dispersed "over the country for the purpose of hunting and remain so scattered until spring, inhabiting their temporary lodges made of mats, which they erect under the protection of some densely wooded bottom land, and moving from place to place as circumstances may require." Scarcity of game compelled the Foxes and Hardfish's Sacs to visit and remain about the border settlements during the winter, "the former visiting their old haunts upon the Iowa, to which they are much attached, while the latter went upon the borders of Missouri." Agent Beach continued his report on the habits and customs of his charges as follows:

As soon as the sap commences to run, the Indians move to their 'sugar camps,' and employ themselves in the manufacture of sugar and molasses as long as they can. After which, they repair to their permanent villages; and, having once more placed their bark lodges

⁷⁴ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. V, pp. 57, 58.

in habitable order, the time has arrived for the commencement of their agricultural operations. These are somewhat limited, and mostly performed by the females, being confined to the planting of a little corn, beans, and melons, in the small patches broken up with hoes in the soft timbered ground, though of late the men have shown an increasing disposition to assist, and have applied to me for the purchase of horses, harness, and ploughs, from their agricultural fund.

From the time of planting until their payment, except the month of June, (usually consumed in a buffalo hunt,) the Indians hang about their villages, addicted to the most constant and revolting intoxication, the facilities for which are so deplorably numerous, and will continue to increase until greater certainty of detection and the *penitentiary* shall be made to await all those who are guilty of the *crime* of producing it.

The site of the Raccoon River Agency proved to be an unfortunate choice. Nearly all the residents, civil and military, suffered severely from malarial disorders. Mrs. Beach died in the summer of 1845 and was buried near her father at the old Sac and Fox Agency. Beach himself also became very ill, and during the year seventy-nine Indians died, including Chief Pashepaho.⁷⁵

The month of September, 1845, was a busy one for the red men who were preparing for their final departure from the Iowa country. Keokuk aided Beach in every way, displaying more than his usual capacity and firmness.⁷⁶ Governor Chambers considered the chief a remarkable man but exclaimed: "What a noble Indian that would be, but for his intemperate habits!" Before the Indians set out on their journey to the reservation in the Kansas country, arrangements were made for the distribution of the government annuities. The last money was doled out to the Indians in Iowa, followed by the same scenes of drunkenness as had characterized the payments of previous years.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 29th Congress, No. 1, pp. 485, 486.

⁷⁶ *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XII, p. 195.

⁷⁷ *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XII, p. 195.

Before their rights of occupation by the treaty of 1842 expired on October 11, 1845, Keokuk and the Sacs were on their way southwestward. The Foxes, however, made a show of refusing to accompany their confederates: the illness of Agent Beach "enabled evil-disposed and interested persons to act upon the credulity of a portion of the tribe, and by keeping them drunk, and misrepresenting the character and situation of the land designated for their future residence, to prejudice them against it, and render them unwilling to remove."⁷⁸ Nevertheless, with the exception of about one hundred, including many of the sick and infirm, the Sacs and Foxes passed out of "a country endeared by tenderest recollections: their cradle, the home of their youth, the sepulchre of their ancestors, and of many dearest friends". They emigrated within the time prescribed by the treaty, the Sacs before the last day of September and the Foxes a few days before the eleventh of October and, owing to their abundant supply of horses and a plentiful crop, they needed no assistance from the government in removing to the region which they selected about the headwaters of the Osage River. Agent John Beach once more set up headquarters, this time on the Kansas reservation.⁷⁹

DRAGOON ACTIVITIES AND FORT DES MOINES

The duty of preventing eager whites from settling the New Purchase before the stipulated time devolved upon the dragoon force under Captain Allen. The government, however, did not forbid persons to travel through and inspect the country, and as a result many homeseekers picked out sites for claims weeks before the first of May. The Des Moines Valley region seemed most magnetic during those anxious times, so much so that the dragoons in several in-

⁷⁸ *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 29th Congress, No. 1, pp. 480, 481.

⁷⁹ *Senate Documents*, 2nd Session, 29th Congress, No. 4, pp. 298, 299.

stances had to expel the trespassing white settlers. It is said "that every imaginable scheme was resorted to for gaining admission": some wished to become attached to the Sac and Fox Agency, and others sought connections with the different trading-houses in order to stake out the choicest spots. Because the agent, John Beach, refused to recognize such applicants for permits, he was thoroughly hated as an officer. Moreover, those who secured permission from the Indian chiefs to mark off claims and build cabins left the forbidden land only after clashes with the dragoons. Indeed, detachments of Captain Allen's troops were kept on patrol duty up and down the Indian boundary, constantly on the look-out for intruders.

So many hundreds of landseekers had moved their families and stock to the boundary line and pitched camp in their anxiety to lose no time in getting to the spots already selected that serious apprehensions were entertained by Agent Beach and Captain Allen lest the people should organize opposition strong enough to overcome the reign of martial law; "but those anxious to settle the new country, on proper reflection, thought it best to submit to these regulations, and abide their time; for it was generally understood that any claim which was marked off before the whites were permitted to settle the country would not be held valid under the claim laws."⁸⁰

About one month after Captain Allen visited the point at the junction of the Raccoon and the Des Moines, he wrote to the War Department, stating his reasons for selecting that place as the best site for a new fort. First, the locality possessed all necessary building materials, water, and grass; secondly, a fort at that point would protect the Sacs and Foxes against their Sioux enemies and against squat-

⁸⁰ *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. III, pp. 534, 535; Vol. IX, pp. 475, 476.

ters; thirdly, it was equidistant from the Mississippi and Missouri rivers and would lie on the best route between the two rivers; fourthly, it was about the right distance from the settlements and only two miles above the site chosen for the Indian villages and trading houses; and fifthly, the fort would be at the head of keel-boat navigation. The captain also proposed plans for establishing the post and urged that necessary materials and supplies for the garrison be sent up to the Raccoon on an American Fur Company steamboat which was going to take advantage of the spring rise of water in the river.

On February 20, 1843, orders were issued for the erection of a temporary post on a site to be determined by Captain Allen. Late in April a small detachment of dragoons set out for the new station and soon afterward helped to unload army supplies from the steamboat "Agatha" which came from St. Louis.⁸¹ Leaving his men to guard these stores Allen returned to Fort Sanford and after loading corn and other stores in a keel-boat and wagons for shipment, Allen led the remainder of his company to what he called "Fort Raccoon" and arrived there on the twentieth day of May, Captain John R. B. Gardenier coming the next day with Company F of the First United States Infantry.

Fort Des Moines, as the authorities at Washington preferred to call it, came to be a considerable establishment, but without pickets or block-houses it never had the appearance of a military post. Captain Allen's command first built a temporary wharf for steamboats and keel-boats, then a public store-house, a hospital, several one-story log cabins for the soldiers, stables and corrals for the horses, and officers' quarters. Gardens were also laid out. Not far

⁸¹ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IV, pp. 331, 332, 334. Authorities disagree about the name of the steamboat which made this journey in May, 1843: the "Ione" is mentioned in Turrill's *Historical Reminiscences of the City of Des Moines*, and in the *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. XI, p. 482.

from the flagstaff the post trader, Robert A. Kinzie, set up his store and dwelling; J. M. Thrift and Charles Weatherford became post tailor and blacksmith, respectively; Benj. B. Bryant, John Sturtevant, and Alexander Turner received permits to cultivate tracts of land in the vicinity in order to raise supplies for the garrison; and J. B. Scott opened a farm east of the Des Moines River opposite the officers' quarters under the terms of a contract to furnish forage and beef. North of Scott's farm the Ewing Brothers⁸² were allowed to erect a log trading house and about two miles southeast stood the residence of the Phelps Brothers also engaged in the Indian trade. About two miles southeast of the fort stood the Indian agency buildings of the government in charge of John Beach.⁸³ When the winter of 1843-1844 set in, all the men above named, besides two other attachés, Dr. T. K. Brooks and James Drake, occupied houses upon this frontier site of the future State capital of Iowa. Including the troops they numbered over one hundred men.⁸⁴

With the spring of 1844 came the annoyance of the first straggling squatters who hoped to be permitted to remain on the land before the Indians were required to depart. Captain Allen and his dragoons constantly watched "these vagabond speculators". In the winter of 1843-1844 they were obliged to bring back a small band of Foxes who had returned to their old village on the Iowa River and caused some trouble to the white settlers in that vicinity.⁸⁵ Then, setting out with a guide from Fort Des Moines on August 11, 1844, Captain Allen led a cavalcade of over fifty dragoons and some wagonloads of provisions for an ex-

⁸² Fulton's *The Red Men of Iowa*, p. 360.

⁸³ *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 28th Congress, No. 1, p. 381.

⁸⁴ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IV, pp. 169-172.

⁸⁵ *Senate Documents*, 2nd Session, 28th Congress, No. 1, p. 416.

ploration of the northern portion of Iowa Territory. The expedition proceeded up the Des Moines Valley, crossing the trail made by emigrants to far-away Oregon⁸⁶ in the summer of the year before, noting the place where a party of Delaware Indians had been wiped out in 1841, and finally reaching the numberless lakes of southern Minnesota. Finding a way out they went on to the headwaters of the Des Moines, to tributaries of the Minnesota River, and westward to the Big Sioux River, killing many buffaloes and losing several horses to the thieving Sioux Indians. The troops descended the Big Sioux to its mouth, passing its falls and exploring the present counties of northwestern Iowa, and after an absence of fifty-four days arrived at Fort Des Moines on the third of October, the horses badly worn out by a journey of over seven hundred miles.⁸⁷ Another expedition made by Captain Allen and his company of dragoons was despatched the following summer in conjunction with Captain Sumner's company from Fort Atkinson, and the purpose seems to have been to impress the Indians with their "vigor, alertness, and fine appearance", as well as with "the wise and humane admonitions" of their commanders. The two-months' saddle journey of 1845 extended from Fort Des Moines via the St. Peter's or Minnesota River to Devil's Lake, North Dakota, and return.⁸⁸ The reports of both expeditions make very interesting reading.

About the middle of September, 1845, the last annuity was distributed among the Sacs and Foxes and, if one may

⁸⁶ THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. X, pp. 425, 427, 429. The "Oregon trail" noted by the dragoons lay just above the mouth of the Raccoon River. Iowa City, Muscatine, and Burlington were then advertised as good starting-points for the journey across the Iowa wilderness to Council Bluffs on the Missouri.

⁸⁷ THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XI, pp. 74-108.

⁸⁸ THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XI, pp. 259-267.

believe the report of a newspaper correspondent present on that occasion, the officers of the garrison were guilty of the most reprehensible conduct: a large jug of liquor was placed before Indians who were invited to drink. Captain Allen had even sent bottles of liquor with his compliments to Poweshiek and other chiefs and rumor had it that he "had a particular object in view in making the Indians drunk about the time of the payment." It was further alleged that the captain had refused to clear the country of liquor or of whiskey peddlers, though the Indian agent, John Beach, made a requisition upon him. It is impossible, however, to vouch for the truth of the reporter's statement "that the location of Fort Des Moines among the Sac and Fox Indians (under its present commander,) for the last two years, has corrupted them more and lowered them deeper in the scale of vice and degradation, than all their intercourse with the whites for the ten years previous".⁸⁹

The duties of the garrison increased as the end of the Indian occupation of the country drew near. Squatters lined the Indian boundary and frequently crossed, only to be driven back. It also became evident that the tribes, especially the Foxes, were strongly disinclined to leave their Iowa hunting-grounds. Captain Allen successfully urged the War Department not to abandon the fort until all the Indians had left the country, to accomplish which the dragoons might yet be necessary. The company of infantrymen, however, marched away to Jefferson Barracks. Although most of the Sacs and Foxes complied with the terms of their treaty of 1842, and departed peacefully for their new reservation west of the Missouri River, about two hundred tribesmen were found at a place thirty miles north of the fort as late as December 10, 1845, and Lieutenant

⁸⁹ *The Davenport Gazette*, November 13, 1845; *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XII, p. 195.

Robert S. Granger "rounded them up" for removal. The military reservation of Fort Des Moines having been ceded to Polk County on January 17, 1846, and orders having been issued in February for the evacuation of the post, the Indians still dwelling in the neighborhood were brought in and under the escort of Lieutenant Patrick Noble and twenty-five dragoons were conducted southward. On March 10, 1846, the remaining half of Company I marched out on the route to Fort Leavenworth. Lieutenant Grier returned to the post later and sold some property at public auction on May 1st, and with that event the government's immediate interest in the region ceased.⁹⁰

THE IMMIGRATION OF 1843 AND 1845

May the first, 1843, and October the eleventh, 1845, are memorable days in the history of the conquest of the West: they marked the expiration of Sac and Fox domination in what soon came to be thirty-five prosperous counties in the south-central portion of the Commonwealth of Iowa.

The Indian boundary established in 1837 barred the way of Anglo-Saxons moving westward. The surveyed lands of the Territory of Iowa extending to this line filled up so rapidly that the announcement in 1841 of a proposal to buy more of the Indian wilderness lured a considerable number of expectant home-seekers to the border. The failure of negotiations in the autumn of this year resulted in disappointment for a multitude of people, but the success of United States commissioners in October, 1842, everywhere revived the interest of Americans who were ready and willing to brave the hard knocks of frontier life. Emigrants rushed to the "New Purchase" by the way of the Ohio and the Mississippi or they rolled overland in great, rumbling

⁹⁰ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IV, pp. 173-177; *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. VIII, pp. 542, 543.

wagons. For weeks and months before this wonderful country was opened to settlement alluring prospects brought hundreds of persons to the frontier border and only military force could restrain them from building homes upon the red man's soil.

The loud discharge of fire-arms by those encamped along the extended Indian boundary announced the midnight hour and the coming of the first of May, 1843. Before this horde of men in quest of homes lay stretched the El Dorado of their dreams, prepared to welcome and reward the wielders of axes and holders of ploughs. The flood-gates of immigration being opened wide, hundreds of pioneers burst over the line and pushed the American frontier many miles westward. Their scramble for the choicest spots upon the new public domain presented a scene of the wildest confusion. Within a few brief hours by torch light they staked off all sorts of irregular areas of land for occupation. In haste they blazed trees in the timber, ran lines in all directions, and crossed and recrossed each others' tracks in marking out their claims. When daylight dawned upon the weary fortune hunters and revealed to them conflicting and overlapping interests as well as strips or "gores" of unclaimed territory between their lines, altercations arose in plenty,⁹¹ but be it said to their honor, "compromises were generally effected without serious difficulty or personal violence." Before night fell on that momentous first of May, the hunting-grounds roamed by savages for centuries had passed into the hands of representatives of a new régime: the civilization of ambitious white men was crowding hard upon the heels of the receding red men.⁹²

Of the millions of acres which squatters now seized, to

⁹¹ *Niles' Register*, Vol. LXIV, p. 272; *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. III, p. 536.

⁹² *Annals of Iowa*, Vol. IX, pp. 476, 477; Parish's *John Chambers*, p. 185.

await the government survey and sale, no portion filled up more rapidly than did the valley of the Des Moines. Accessions to the neighborhood of the Sac and Fox Agency were especially noteworthy: five thousand persons were reported to be living within the confines of Wapello County at the end of the first month.⁹³ Men brought their families, live stock, and farm implements, and lost no time preparing the virgin soil for the first season's crops. Against the coming winter they also raised log cabins for their homes. Ottumwa and other towns were at once laid out by interested speculators. The press of people who flocked from the East and South by team and wagon continued up the valley into Monroe, Mahaska, and Marion counties. Everywhere little groups of families united by blood ties or by previous acquaintance and friendship wisely formed settlements in the wilderness to combat and overcome the privations of frontier life by mutual dependence and coöperation.⁹⁴

But if the white population of the Indian country opened to settlement was in the main characterized by the well-known frontier virtues, it is also true that the waves of immigration of 1837 and 1843 deposited upon the very border the scum of the earth. The abandonment of portions of their territory in these years was but the prelude to an immediate pursuit of the Sacs and Foxes by depraved and debased persons whose sole employment consisted of ministering to the Indian's vicious appetite. Upon the Indian frontier congregated a class of people "who willingly suffer every inconvenience, and complain of no discomfort, so long as they have the means of successfully continuing their infamous traffic in whiskey." When the line of 1843 had been surveyed liquor shops became more numerous upon it

⁹³ Barrows' *Notes on Iowa*, p. 19; *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 28th Congress, No. 1, p. 381; *Niles' Register*, Vol. LXIV, p. 311.

⁹⁴ *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. II, p. 294, Vol. III, pp. 534, 536, Vol. VII, pp. 37, 254.

than upon the old line of 1837.⁹⁵ No wonder, then, that the Sacs and Foxes took little stock in the education, civilization, and religion of the white men with whom they came into contact—"men whose licentious dispositions, love of gain, and propensities for the most sensual indulgences, unchecked by any respect either for their own characters or the opinions of the more virtuous," would always draw the red men to the frontier so long as they had hopes of success in their shameless and abandoned course. Nor were the people dwelling upon the northern Missouri boundary any different. And finally, American citizens of the same type were in 1846 found again upon the outskirts of civilization, high up the River Des Moines, furnishing the young braves of the Yankton Sioux with liquor and cheating them out of their guns, horses, and buffalo robes.⁹⁶

For two years immigrants pushed up the Des Moines into the empty lands of the Territory of Iowa—only dragoon patrols along the White Breast boundary impeded their seizure of Sac and Fox lands farther west. As the red man's sway over this country approached its end, the history of two years before repeated itself. Prospective settlers first crossed the line and inspected the region "so long as they were unaccompanied by wagon and carried no ax." As the dragoons became less vigilant, occasionally "a wagon slipped in through the brush." Then, as the eleventh of October, 1845, drew near, scores of settlers provided with sharpened stakes and lanterns or blazing torches awaited the signal which should welcome them to better opportunities: the loud cracking of muskets for miles along the border was followed at midnight by the sudden advance of the army of invaders. Completing the occupation of Mahaska

⁹⁵ *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 28th Congress, No. 1, p. 380.

⁹⁶ *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 29th Congress, No. 1, pp. 483, 484, 485; *House Executive Documents*, 2nd Session, 29th Congress, No. 4, p. 295.

County, the pioneers took possession of the lands around Fort Des Moines and the Indian agency and penetrated the solitude far beyond. A pioneer's reminiscences convey a striking, though flowery, picture of that memorable night:

The moon was slowly sinking in the west, and its beams afforded a feeble and uncertain light, for the measuring of claims, in which so many were engaged. Ere long the landscape was shrouded in darkness, save the wild and fitful glaring of torches, carried by the claim-makers. Before the night had entirely worn away, the rough surveys were finished, and the Indian lands had found new tenants. Throughout the country thousands of acres were laid off in claims before dawn. Settlers rushed in by hundreds, and the region lately so tranquil and silent, felt the impulse of the change, and became vocal with the sounds of industry and enterprise.⁹⁷

TRADERS AND WHISKEY SELLERS AMONG THE SACS AND FOXES
FROM 1834 TO 1845

Instead of merely a large portion of eastern Iowa lying along the Mississippi, twice or three times as much, or even all, of the Sac and Fox territory in the Iowa country might have been added to the public domain by the treaty of 1832 had not Indian traders effectually blocked the government's commissioners. John Jacob Astor, represented by his agents, Russell Farnham and George Davenport, was astute enough to procure \$40,000 in full payment of Sac and Fox debts, and in order to prevent the removal of the Indians too far away from their business headquarters on Rock Island the traders also advised and obtained the insertion of a provision for Keokuk's Reserve upon both banks of the Iowa River. Were the Sacs and Foxes to congregate on this tract, how much more convenient and profitable for the American Fur Company than a location south or west of the Missouri River four or five hundred miles away!⁹⁸

⁹⁷ Turrill's *Historical Reminiscences of the City of Des Moines*, pp. 16, 17; *The History of Mahaska County*, p. 304.

⁹⁸ *House Executive Documents*, 2nd Session, 24th Congress, No. 82, p. 2. For a scholarly account of the Sacs and Foxes in the year 1834 see the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XV, pp. 104-155.

By the first of June, 1833, the Indians were supposed to be dwelling in their bark lodges upon Keokuk's Reserve or in their territory west of the Black Hawk Purchase. That their hunts were becoming very poor is clear from the report that they made about one hundred and fifty packs of fur in the winter of 1833, as compared with four hundred four years before. To what extent the tribesmen refused to hunt, now that the government paid their chiefs large annual sums of money for distribution, it is difficult to ascertain, but one thing seems clear: a difference of opinion arose among the braves and warriors in regard to the manner of paying the annuities. In August, 1834, Poweshiek and over two hundred hunters of the Fox village on the Cedar River, besides Chief Appanoose and nearly two hundred more Foxes on the Des Moines, petitioned against the payment of annuities to Keokuk, the head chief, because he had turned all the money over to the American Fur Company, so that most of the tribesmen received nothing.⁹⁹ This matter remained a bone of contention for sixteen years.

Rev. Cutting Marsh in charge of a delegation of Stockbridge Indians visited the different Sac and Fox villages in the summer of 1834, but their attempt to establish a mission among these Indians failed entirely because of certain formidable and insurmountable obstacles. George Davenport, the trader, "expressed a belief in the doctrine of universal salvation and labored . . . to show 'how happy the Indians were in their present state'." He afterwards declared that missionaries would only make them worse. Antoine Le Claire, the interpreter, besides being connected with the American Fur Company, was a Roman Catholic and hence was unwilling to assist the Protestant American

⁹⁹ *House Executive Documents*, 2nd Session, 23d Congress, Nos. 63, 64. Keokuk seems to have been altogether under the influence of the traders of the American Fur Company. See the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XV, pp. 126, 149.

Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Mr. Marsh found a welcome at the house of a professed infidel when he visited Appanoose's village: there William Phelps and his brother were trading in opposition to the American Fur Company.¹⁰⁰

Sometime before the date of the sale of Keokuk's Reserve in September, 1836, all the Sacs and Foxes, Poweshiek and his Fox band upon the Red Cedar excepted, had removed to the Des Moines River, and so their traders found it necessary to carry goods some forty or fifty miles inland. The treaty of 1836 reveals again the influence of persons financially interested in the tribes: all "just creditors" whose claims the government satisfied are mentioned in the concluding section of the treaty, among them S. S. Phelps and Company, George Davenport, Antoine Le Claire, Francis Labachiere, and Pratte, Chouteau and Company, the latter alone receiving \$20,362.42½. An observer of the time pointed out the policy of the Sac and Fox traders to prevent the extinguishment of title except to small portions of their country and urge the Indians to accept payment in nothing but specie.¹⁰¹ Inasmuch as game was becoming scarcer in the Iowa country, money became a welcome substitute for furs as the medium of exchange for the traders' goods and whiskey.

The narrow strip of country which the Sac and Fox depuration sold to the United States in 1837 proved to be another "nail in the coffin" of the tribes. Despite the fact that the government had the previous year appropriated \$48,458.87½ for the payment of debts due Sac and Fox traders, these gentlemen were not overlooked in the treaty negotiations which took place at Washington, D. C. On the

¹⁰⁰ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XV, pp. 104, 111, 112, 113, 154.

¹⁰¹ Kappler's *Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, p. 355; *Senate Documents*, 2nd Session, 25th Congress, No. 1, p. 536.

contrary they were generously remembered in the stipulation that bills against Indian customers aggregating not more than \$100,000 would be paid by the government.¹⁰² Thus, the sale of comparatively small portions of the Indian country, instigated from time to time by the men who traded with the childlike natives, served to secure the payment of goodly sums from the nation's treasury and to bring American money into circulation upon the western frontier. And the persons who suffered the most severely from this ruinous policy were the Indians for whose benefit the treaties of sale were ostensibly concluded. Indeed, the oftener their debts were paid and the greater the quantity of cash distributed among them by the government, the more worthless, dissipated, and dependent they became in their villages on the Des Moines River. Hunting gradually ceased to be a pastime and until their departure from Iowa in 1845 the furs and skins of wild game animals were not important articles of commerce.

Finding it difficult to care for his charges so many miles away, Joseph M. Street, Sac and Fox agent since March 4, 1835, removed his office from Rock Island to a place several miles west of the Indian boundary established in 1837. He reported that the border whites had dispensed more whiskey among the Sacs and Foxes in 1838 than at any other time since 1834. Despite his uncompromising hostility toward all whites who were exploiting the Indian's weakness for liquor and articles of every description, Street could make no headway against their traffic with the red men. Pierre Chouteau, Jr., and Company of St. Louis (the American Fur Company) were still doing a large business with the confederated tribes in their Des Moines villages, George

¹⁰² Antoine Le Claire and George Davenport had accompanied the Sac and Fox deputation to the East. White men intimately acquainted with the Indians could be depended upon to be present whenever treaty negotiations were begun. See Wilkie's *Davenport Past and Present*, p. 162.

Davenport and his son George L. continuing to serve there until the summer of 1838. At the same time the tribesmen seem to have journeyed to Rock Island to obtain supplies at Davenport's store.¹⁰³ After twenty-two years Davenport withdrew from active participation in the Indian trade and turned the fur trust's local affairs over to S. S. Phelps. On the Des Moines River bluffs, three miles west of the new Sac and Fox Agency, Phelps set up a trading post in charge of his brother William.¹⁰⁴ That the Chouteau people were not dealing honorably with the natives may be gathered from Keokuk's complaint to Governor Robert Lucas of Iowa Territory: Chouteau gave the Indians no account of goods sold and no statement of the amount of money due; therefore, said Keokuk, the Sacs and Foxes ought to have a book-keeper.¹⁰⁵

Governor Lucas, acting also as Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Territory, aired his animosity towards the Chouteaus at every opportunity. In the autumn of 1839, he wrote to Washington about the payment of the annuity to the head chiefs who in turn handed it to the agent of the American Fur Company. Great dissatisfaction reigned among the tribesmen; some of the chiefs had lost popularity among the braves and warriors and they were suspected of being controlled by the agents of the American Fur Company and other traders. Lucas felt certain that the government could do the Indians very little good so long as the power and influence of traders remained supreme in Indian councils. Since the interests of traffickers in merchandise and liquor were opposed to the government's policy, frequently embarrassing government officials by open violation

¹⁰³ *Annals of Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 97; Wilkie's *Davenport Past and Present*, p. 162.

¹⁰⁴ *The History of Lee County* (1879), pp. 365, 366, 367.

¹⁰⁵ *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. II, p. 209.

of the law, Lucas strongly urged that goods instead of money be distributed to the red men to protect them against the impositions of traders.¹⁰⁶

The year 1840 saw the arrival of more traders among the Sacs and Foxes to compete for a portion of the Indian furs and annuities. The Chouteau post had been monopolizing business in the villages of Keokuk, Wapello, and Appanoose, then situated where the city of Ottumwa now stands. Higher up the Des Moines River Hardfish and a band of malcontents, openly hostile to Chief Keokuk and his administration of tribal affairs, had pitched their lodges.¹⁰⁷ There, in the heart of the present town of Eddyville, J. P. Eddy was licensed to trade in the summer of 1840, and not long afterward the Chouteaus had a post near the same place. The brothers George Washington and Washington George Ewing, experienced in Indian trade since at least the year 1826, were also licensed to deal with the Sacs and Foxes and accordingly set up a large establishment opposite the Indian villages under the supervision of "a Mr. Hunt, a gentleman of far more education, refinement and culture than is often found among the resident Indian traders."¹⁰⁸

How were goods for the Indian trade conveyed to this wilderness just beyond the pale of civilization? The answer can be found in the reports of two United States army officers who surveyed the Des Moines River in the spring of 1841. A captain of the topographical engineers ascended the river to the American Fur Company's trading post near the Sac and Fox Agency and learned of the practicability

¹⁰⁶ *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 26th Congress, No. 1, pp. 491, 492.

¹⁰⁷ *Annals of Iowa*, Vol. III, pp. 531, 532; Fulton's *The Red Men of Iowa*, p. 264.

¹⁰⁸ *The History of Lee County* (1879), p. 369. W. G. and G. W. Ewing were trading on English Lake, on the Kankakee River in 1826-1827.—*Senate Documents*, 2nd Session, 19th Congress, No. 58, p. 1.

of navigation from the fact that trade supplies had been repeatedly transported one hundred miles to this, "their principal depot in a steamboat of the size ordinarily used on the upper Mississippi in low water, and that a heavily laden keel boat has been taken up nearly to the mouth of Rackoon Fork."¹⁰⁹ Late in June of this same year Lieutenant John C. Frémont also stopped at Phelps's post and wrote to the government as follows: "Having been furnished with a guide and other necessities by the uniform kindness of the American Fur Company, we resumed our journey on the morning of the 1st of July, and late in the evening reached the house of Mr. Jameson — another of the company's posts, about twenty miles higher up." In pushing his survey of the river valley, Frémont gained much information from "Mr. Phelps, who has resided about twenty years on this river, and who has kept boats upon it constantly during that period." From his own observations and from the fact that Phelps "ran a Mississippi steamer to his post, a distance of 87 miles from the mouth and a company are now engaged in building one to navigate the river", Frémont declared the Des Moines to be "highly susceptible of improvement".¹¹⁰

The council for the payment of annuities in 1840 was held at the Sac and Fox Agency on September 28th. Besides the Indian agent, John Beach, there were in attendance Robert Lucas, Governor of Iowa Territory, and the traders. The American Fur Company was abundantly represented by Pierre Chouteau, Jr., and Messrs. Sanford and Mitchell from St. Louis, George Davenport and his son, George L.,

¹⁰⁹ *House Executive Documents*, 3d Session, 27th Congress, No. 38, pp. 13, 15. A writer in the *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. XI, p. 482, is authority for the statement that the steamboat "Science" ascended the Des Moines to the Sac and Fox Agency in 1837.

¹¹⁰ *House Executive Documents*, 3d Session, 27th Congress, No. 38, pp. 16, 18. Frémont also mentioned "Vessor's trading house".

and Antoine Le Claire, the half-breed interpreter, had come from Rock Island. S. S. Phelps of Oquawka, Illinois, and his brother, William Phelps, were also present. All these men were there to look after their trade interests, and the spectacle may be taken as typical of such occasions in the West. Great must have been their disappointment when the payment of the annuity was deferred because the two factions of the Sacs and Foxes failed to agree on the mode of distribution. Governor Lucas, whose sympathies lay with the Hardfish band, accused Beach of "acting in conjunction with the American Fur Company" and later even urged Beach's removal from the agency.¹¹¹

Beach declared in his annual report for 1840-1841 that the domestic discord in the tribes was "principally attributable to a rivalry among the trading interest, and the different opinions entertained by those licensed in the trade, in regard to that mode promising the greatest certainty of payment to themselves for the credits they had always extended to the Indians to a large amount." The difficulty, however, was cleared up in the fall of 1841 and the annuities for two years were doled out to the satisfaction of all concerned, traders with big accounts included.¹¹²

Immediately after the payment of annuities the chiefs and braves of the confederated tribes met a United States commission to negotiate for the disposal of more Sac and Fox country. John Chambers, the Governor of the Territory of Iowa, first addressed them to ask for their own honest and candid opinions upon the subject and not the opinion of their traders and those who had claims against them. Then T. Hartley Crawford, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs from Washington, begged them as "a hand-

¹¹¹ Parish's *John Chambers*, pp. 169, 170, 171.

¹¹² *Senate Documents*, 2nd Session, 27th Congress, No. 1, p. 349; Parish's *John Chambers*, pp. 172-175.

some and powerful people" to cease to follow the advice and practice of those who designed their destruction, and told them if they would remain honest they should not obey the counsel of those who endeavored only to corrupt them. Their best welfare called for removal beyond the reach of white men who wanted only their funds, and so, to get the Indians' free assent to the sale of more lands and not the opinion of persons coming from a distance who wanted their money and cared nothing about the condition or happiness of the Indians, all white men had been sent away and excluded from the council-house during the treaty negotiations.

Governor Chambers also explained why they were being kept clear of these "vultures" and declared:

You have now been two years without money. You are surrounded by blood-suckers, who are constantly endeavoring to obtain all the money paid to you. All the money you yesterday received has already gone into their hands. You have paid them enough to supply all your wants for a year. Those of them who sell you whiskey are men who desire only your money, and would kill all your women and children to obtain it. They have no souls — they are men of bad hearts, and you should not permit them to exercise any influence over you whatever. I believe it your interest to get out of their reach. Your great father proposes to give you such an opportunity — he proposes to you to go north [to the head waters of the Des Moines].

Now, I will tell you why your great father proposes to you to sell at this time. He knows, and I know, that white people have got near you; are selling you whiskey, and that we cannot prevent them from selling, or you from buying. Bad white people are thus encouraged to sell, and you are degraded by buying; and you will become more and more degraded until you become wholly extinct. Troops have been sent here, but on account of your proximity to the white settlements, improper intercourse with them cannot be prevented. I had learned, and reported to your great father, that you bought goods which you did not need, and immediately traded them away for whiskey. Your great father thought you wished to pay

your debts. I have ascertained that \$300,000 will not pay them. This is another reason why he thought you should sell. A few months ago you went to Montrose and bought fifteen thousand dollars of goods, none of which you wanted (save, perhaps, a few horses), and they are now all given to the winds. How will you pay the man of whom you procured them? The whole amount of your annuities for five years will not pay your debts to your traders. They will not trust you any more. They have sold to you, heretofore, expecting you would sell your lands, and that they then would be paid. You will get no more goods and credit. It was kindness, then, on the part of your great father which induced him to offer to buy your lands to furnish you with money, with which you could render yourselves, your wives and children, comfortable and happy. It is my business to superintend your affairs, and watch over your interests as well as the interests of the Government; and I want you to reflect upon the fact that in a few days all your money will be gone; and you will be without credit; you may be unsuccessful in your hunts, and what will become of you? Even your whiskey-sellers will not sell to you that, without money or an exchange of your horses, guns, and blankets for it; many of you do not reflect upon this now, but you will before a year with sorrow.¹¹³

Such traders as George Davenport and Antoine Le Claire having been segregated in a trading house and placed under a guard of dragoons to prevent direct communication with the Indians,¹¹⁴ three days were spent in fruitless negotiations. Flush with money the tribesmen paid some of the vast debt which had been accumulating, but they exchanged most of their cash for liquor. Governor Chambers filed a strong complaint against the whole system which made

¹¹³ *Senate Documents*, 2nd Session, 27th Congress, No. 1, pp. 270, 271, 272, 274, 275.

In anticipation of this treaty Beach had reported the increased sale of whiskey among the Indians. Though advised and urged to pay no bills incurred in this way, the Sacs and Foxes were unwilling to offend their white whiskey-selling neighbors, and fearing also that their liquor supply might otherwise be cut off, they liquidated all debts "with a most scrupulous integrity."—*Senate Documents*, 2nd Session, 27th Congress, No. 1, p. 349.

¹¹⁴ Wilkie's *Davenport Past and Present*, p. 163.

such exploitation possible: he urged the effective suppression of the whiskey traffic and the abolition of the licensed Indian trade in favor of direct government management. The Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Iowa passed resolutions calling upon the Delegate to Congress to exert his influence toward a reformation.¹¹⁵ It was not long before the Indian chiefs, realizing their vain struggle against poverty and debt, announced a willingness to journey to Washington for a treaty council. Chambers believed such a plan emanated from the traders who preferred to have their debts paid at the national capital rather than at the agency. Indeed, he knew they were stirring up feeling against him. In May, 1842, the debts due to the three licensed trading companies amounted to over \$200,000. In the autumn of 1842 Governor Chambers and Agent Beach

¹¹⁵ Parish's *John Chambers*, pp. 176, 177. In *House Executive Documents*, 2nd Session, 27th Congress, No. 107, there is a resolution of the Territorial legislature, approved on January 18, 1842, which may well be set forth here because it seems never to have found its way into the officially published *Laws of Iowa*.

"Preamble and joint resolution, requesting our Delegate to use his influence in procuring a change in the existing system of licensing traders to deal with the Indians, &c.

"Whereas the Sac and Fox tribe of Indians, living within the prescribed limits of the Territory of Iowa, are subject to many frauds and peculations under the existing system of licensing traders:

"And whereas, from the improvident habits of the Indians, they derive, it is believed, no benefit from their annuities, under the present rules and regulations of the Indian bureau, from the fact that their liabilities to the traders are always found to exceed, by large sums, the amount of their annuities from the General Government:

"And whereas the policy of the Government is often thwarted, in attempting to negotiate with the Indians for the extinguishment of their title to any portion of their country, by the extraordinary and transcendent influence which the traders are known to exercise over them:

"And whereas such a state of things is deeply to be deplored, and should be regarded as a great evil, especially when it is considered that the traders are enabled to dictate, in matters of such vital importance, to the American Government:

"And whereas we believe the most effectual remedy for this evil would be to abolish the present system entirely, and to establish in lieu thereof a sort of

reported again the awful devastation being caused by the nefarious traffic in liquor and the inordinate fondness of the Indians for intoxication.¹¹⁶ Beach, especially, pictured conditions in a black light:

A set of the most abandoned and unprincipled wretches collected near the line upon the Des Moines river, and at one or two other points along the boundary, from whose dens the intoxicating liquid flows in uninterrupted streams upon the Indians. . . . On my first acquaintance with them in 1832, intoxication was rare among them, and I doubt if a confirmed or habitual drunkard belonged to their nation; while at this time, except when far distant upon their hunting grounds, the whole nation, without distinction of rank or age or sex, exhibits a continual scene of the most revolting intoxication. Laws, of a truth, exist, but of what avail without the means of enforcing them.¹¹⁷

Thus the lack of food and clothing produced a change of factor system — the factors to be Government officers, whose duties should be defined by law, and whose salaries should be sufficient to insure fidelity and competency in the discharge of their duties. By the adoption of this or a similar plan, the Indians would be liable to fewer impositions, and would be better and more readily supplied with subsistence stores, and the various articles of Indian goods which their necessities require. By a provision of this kind, nearly the whole of their annuities, before they are due, will have been paid in articles proper for their use and consumption, the factors' commercial intercourse with the Indians to be similar to that of a sutler at a military post, never, under any circumstances, allowing the Indians to incur a greater indebtedness than the amount of their annuities:

“And whereas, by the adoption of this plan, the overwhelming influence of the traders over the Indians would be destroyed, and the General Government left free to pursue its enlightened policy towards them: Therefore,

“*Be it resolved by the Council and House of Representatives of the Territory of Iowa*, That the Hon. A. C. Dodge, our Delegate in Congress, be requested to use his influence to procure a change in the laws and regulations respecting the system of licensing traders with the Indians, in conformity to the views contained in the foregoing preamble.

“*Resolved*, That his excellency Governor Chambers be requested to forward one copy of the foregoing preamble and resolution to the President of the Senate, Speaker of the House of Representatives, to our Delegate in Congress, and to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.”

¹¹⁶ Parish's *John Chambers*, p. 178; *Senate Documents*, 3d Session, 27th Congress, No. 1, p. 422.

¹¹⁷ *Senate Documents*, 3d Session, 27th Congress, No. 1, p. 426.

heart in the Sacs and Foxes: in October, 1842, they were ready to meet the United States more than half way. On the other hand the government wished to promote the march of empire westward, and the land hunger of the whites also had to be appeased, so rapidly were people from the East and the South migrating to the empty trans-Mississippi region. Accordingly, Governor John Chambers journeyed to the Sac and Fox Agency before the close of September, accompanied by Alfred Hebard and Arthur Bridgman, the agents appointed to investigate the claims of the traders and other creditors of the Indians. In regard to the process of sifting Hebard afterwards declared:¹¹⁸ "Aside from the accounts of the licensed traders, scores of other smaller claims had been carefully nursed with the expectation that they would be allowed, *en masse*, whenever a sale of their lands was made to the Government. The rigid examination required by the Commissioner was unexpected, but the rule was inflexible — evidence and reasonable explanation were required in all cases."

After the receipt and examination of fifty-eight claims against the Indians, the expert accountants presented each to the tribesmen in council for further information. Altogether, the indebtedness on the books aggregated \$312,366.24, but after many days of laborious overhauling this amount was reduced to \$258,566.34.¹¹⁹ J. P. Eddy and Company obtained their claim in full — \$52,332.78 — while the demands of Pierre Chouteau, Jr., and Company were very little reduced, amounting to \$112,109.47. The account of W. G. and G. W. Ewing was materially modified, a reduction of twenty-five percent placing their allowance at \$66,371.83. One writer has well explained the reason for the action of the commission:

¹¹⁸ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. I, pp. 399, 400.

¹¹⁹ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. I, pp. 402, 403; Parish's *John Chambers*, p. 182.

They had sold the untutored native such useful objects as "Italian cravats", "satinette coats", and "looking glasses" charged at twenty-two and thirty dollars. A clerk informed the investigating commission that these last articles should have been styled "telescopes". They had found purchasers among the red men for "fine satin vests" at eight dollars and fine spotted ones for six and seven. They had charged forty-five dollars for "dress coats" and "super-fine cloth coats" and sixty dollars for "surtout coats" and "super over coats". Verily the white pioneer settler must have felt sadly tailored beside his Indian neighbor. The profits upon some articles were estimated at from one to nine hundred per cent.¹²⁰

Besides the three largest claims above mentioned, some fifty-five others were considered, only thirty-nine of them being finally adjusted. Edward Kilbourne was allowed \$10,411.80; Francis Withington, \$4,212.58; Jeremiah Smith, Jr., \$4000; James Jordan, \$1775; and Antoine Le Claire, \$1375. All other creditors obtained less than a thousand dollars.¹²¹ It appears that Peter and William Avery were most severely censured; so that their bill for \$6284.73, repudiated by the Indians, was entirely rejected. Hebard afterwards declared that claims "that had a prima facie appearance of fairness, and were sustained by explanation, seldom met with opposition or a word of complaint—showing an element of honesty in the Indian character not always found among many of those with whom they had been dealing."¹²²

Claims having been adjusted to the satisfaction of at least the most influential traders, negotiations for the purchase of the Sac and Fox country were begun soon after the first day of October and successfully concluded on the eleventh of the same month. The United States government

¹²⁰ Parish's *John Chambers*, p. 182; *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. V, p. 463.

¹²¹ Kappler's *Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, p. 407.

¹²² Parish's *John Chambers*, p. 259; *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. I, p. 403.

agreed to pay the debts of the Indians as part of the purchase price for the remainder of their lands within the borders of the Territory of Iowa. That the stipulation for the removal of these natives to a place southwest of the Missouri is directly traceable to the active influence of the licensed traders there is no dearth of evidence to prove. Indeed, the testimony on this point seems to be unanimous. An eye-witness of events at the agency during the early days of October testified that "but for the activity and influence of Messrs. Sanford, Davenport and Le Clair and the Messrs. Phelps, who exerted every means in their power to harmonize the clashing among the bands, we doubt much whether the purchase of the whole country could have been effected."¹²³

Alfred Hebard is authority for the statement that the United States commissioners invited "persons known to, and knowing the Indians, and having their confidence, especially those who could speak their language," to aid in securing the object of the government. He continued as follows in his account of the treaty:¹²⁴

Those having claims had a double motive, and citizens generally were interested in the same direction, thus creating a pressure of public opinion, that greatly assisted the Commissioner in his patient, persuasive reasonings with the Indians, in trying to convince them that their true interest would be promoted, by accepting a smaller home farther west, with increased means of support and free from border entanglements. . . . The Indian heart appreciates friendship, and had it not been for this strong undertone of faith in known friends, I doubt if the mission had been fully successful. The aid of Major Sanford and others is entitled to just appreciation to this day.

¹²³ THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. X, p. 265; Wilkie's *Davenport Past and Present*, pp. 163, 164. George Davenport is said to have quit the Indian trade at this time to devote his time to improving property in Davenport and Rock Island. He lived comfortably in his island home until he was murdered by bandits on July 4, 1845.

¹²⁴ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. I, pp. 403, 404.

Governor Chambers also asserted that the Indian mind could not be reached except through the mediation of the licensed traders, whose influence could under no circumstances be brought into operation in support of the government except for a "consideration" obtained through a treaty stipulation for the payment of the claims against the tribe to be treated with. "The tremendous profits of Indian trade, resulting from the privileges granted the traders by the Government under the existing system of trade and intercourse with the Indians," he said, "does not seem to produce on the part of these people the least sense of obligation to forward or promote the views of the Government, or even to abstain from obstructing them when the promotion of their own interest is not presented as an inducement. . . . The traders have in their employment the best interpreters, frequently half breeds, and numerous clerks and adroit individuals, familiar with the vices and follies of the Indians, and always administering to them, not unfrequently raising children by their women, and thus making the impression upon the Indians that they are identified with them and their interests in all respects". Therefore, the traders had more influence among the red men than did the government from which they derived their power.¹²⁵

Not long after the treaty of 1842 was concluded, G. W. Ewing wrote to T. Hartley Crawford, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, describing some of the many infamous practices resorted to by unprincipled, unlicensed men in order to cheat and abuse the Indians. Crawford sent Ewing's complaint to Chambers and the latter replied in a letter full of indignation at the government's system of regulating

¹²⁵ *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 28th Congress, No. 1, pp. 287, 288. Substantially the same picture of conditions can be found in the report of two Friends or Quakers who visited the Sac and Fox Agency at the time of the treaty.—THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XIII, pp. 258-260.

the Indian trade.¹²⁶ He flayed unmercifully the regular or licensed traders, accusing them of dealings characterized by the vilest extortion: their claims might be reduced at treaty times, but how could inspection of their accounts then reveal the nature of their cash dealings or exchanges for furs and skins? The Governor's words were unsparing. "If the vengeance of Heaven is ever inflicted upon man in this life," he declared, "it seems to me we must yet see some signal evidence of it among these 'regular traders'. . . . When a treaty is to be made and their claims against the Indians are to be liquidated, some of them come prepared to show your commissioners the hazard they incur in disobliging them, by a curtailment of their iniquitous demands. Letters from distinguished senators and members of Congress are presented, introducing them as strangers, (though well known) and recommending them as gentlemen of integrity, high standing and great influence, and I suppose they might, in great truth add, what would be equivalent to all the rest, distinguished for their *great wealth*, acquired in the Indian trade."

Some time during the year 1842 the American Fur Company seems to have abandoned its log cabin headquarters a few miles west of the Sac and Fox Agency, permitted a company of dragoons under Captain James Allen to occupy them, and established a new post higher up the Des Moines

¹²⁶ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. V, pp. 461-464.

Governor Chambers recommended the following change in the system of licensed traders: "I have thought that if the system could even be so modified as to compel the licensed trader to furnish sworn copies of their invoices, and submit their goods to a comparison with them and to inspection, and their books and accounts to thorough examination, and compel them to render quarterly or semi-annual abstracts of their sales on the oaths of themselves and their clerks, and a statement of all money, skins, furs, etc., received from the Indians, it might by a rigid scrutiny be made to some extent a means of restraining their extortions and frauds; but to make such a scrutiny effectual, it would be necessary to employ agents who neither resided in the Indian country or were in habits of intercourse with the traders or the Indians."

River in the Red Rock region of Marion County.¹²⁷ The Sac and Fox villagers removed their lodges to the neighborhood of the Raccoon River in accordance with the terms of the treaty of 1842, which allowed them to retain that part of their territory in Iowa for another two years. When the winter of 1843-1844 set in, the licensed traders were comfortably ensconced in log cabins on the present site of East Des Moines. The Ewings occupied a half section of land; not far away was the residence and farm of the Phelps brothers; and just across the river stood Fort Des Moines.¹²⁸

Little need be added about the activity of licensed traders in this region before the departure of the Sacs and Foxes in the autumn of 1845. The change of residence to the neighborhood of Fort Des Moines did not in the least abate the Indians' excessive fondness for liquor nor limit their means of procuring it: unprincipled whites supplied them with whiskey wherever they went. The Indians still wasted their money. Instead of buying necessities, they quickly spent their income on the trash of traders and the whiskey and horses of others. Furthermore, a large part of the provisions and goods furnished by the government they "exchanged for whiskey as soon as they get possession of them, and always at such rates as the cupidity of the whiskey sellers choose to dictate." Most of them had abandoned the chase, were seldom sober, and were "averse, from habit and savage pride, to labor." Subject to the overruling and controlling influence of their traders, they made "no provision in advance for their wants, and the prospect of starvation seems to have no terrors for them until the last mouthful of food is exhausted." Even the waste of provisions subserved the interest of the traders because they were always prepared to supply the deficiencies of their native customers. And because the traders at the treaty of

¹²⁷ *The History of Lee County* (1879), p. 369.

¹²⁸ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IV, pp. 171, 172.

1842 had said that the Indians should have no more farms, since money would buy more for them than farms would yield, no provision was made near their temporary domicile for a pattern farm such as they had had near the old agency.¹²⁹

During the year 1844 vast quantities of liquor were brought to the boundary line and much was imported into the Indian country, but the most unremitting vigilance could not check the evil, though some of the bootleggers were caught in the act and deprived of their cargoes. Agent John Beach put the case clearly when he wrote as follows:

Situated as they now are, no amount of annuity which we could pay them would add in the least to their comfort, so long as such wholesale robbery can be practised — robbery of the basest sort, which often ruthlessly takes from them all that may minister to their necessities, and even to their existence, under pretence of rendering an equivalent, and that equivalent as often death. In fact, sir, as I have heard you express yourself, their very annuity is a curse to them; and as it is increased, their evils are multiplied. At the payment of last year, the sum due them was double nearly what it had been at any former period; and this year, some \$16,000 will be paid them more than the last; yet they do not appear better clothed or better provided, but certainly, if it be possible, more intemperate. The last winter, although mild beyond example, was one of much suffering to them, for want of subsistence. True, the small remnant of their country which they now occupy is entirely destitute of game — forming in this particular a striking contrast with their possessions of ten years previous, the amount of their income for furs and skins, ranging at that time from \$50,000 to \$80,000 per annum, being now reduced to nothing — yet the vastly increased amount of their annuities should compensate for this failure of other sources of supply. They are by nature thoughtless, wasteful, improvident; still, their necessities are compressed within a narrow range; and surely, if these 2,200 Indians could be guarded

¹²⁹ *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 28th Congress, No. 1, pp. 374, 376, 385, and 2nd Session, 28th Congress, No. 1, p. 417.

against avarice and iniquity, \$81,000 per annum should load them with every comfort.¹³⁰

The tract of Iowa country occupied by the Sacs and Foxes after May, 1843, was so destitute of game that the Indians were compelled to visit the border settlements during the winter months. The whites offered no complaint because, forsooth, the worst of them took advantage of the red men, stripped them of all their property, and later, at the succeeding payment, a host of such border "harpies" beset them for the payment of promissory notes and other obligations. And just before Sac and Fox tribal life was to be shifted beyond the Missouri, the Indian agent could state that his charges had little regard for the white man's education because it appeared to consist in knowing how most effectually to cheat the benighted red man; they had little esteem for so-called civilization because it pandered to the worst propensities of human nature and they beheld the criminal, inhuman results thereof with a cold indifference; while the Christian religion seemed to the Indians the worship of dollars and cents.¹³¹ With such a low opinion of their white neighbors, the Sacs and Foxes forsook the rich prairies of Iowa to take up their abode in the gameless region about the headwaters of the Osage River in Kansas. With them went the scenes of barter and exchange, but it was hoped that they would be placed beyond the baneful influences of unprincipled whites who drenched them with whiskey and robbed them of their money. Certain of an annuity sufficient to feed and clothe them bountifully there was no reason why they might not lead a life of complete independence and comfort.¹³²

¹³⁰ *Senate Documents*, 2nd Session, 28th Congress, No. 1, p. 421.

¹³¹ *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 29th Congress, No. 1, pp. 483, 484, 485.

¹³² *House Executive Documents*, 2nd Session, 29th Congress, No. 4, pp. 297, 300; *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. X, p. 264.

LATER HISTORY OF INDIAN RIGHTS TO THE UPPER DES
MOINES VALLEY

The departure of the Sacs and Foxes from the well-watered prairies of central Iowa to the dry lands and feverish climate of southeastern Kansas did not rid the valley of the upper Des Moines of Indian visitations. Indeed, two other tribes of red men retained for a few years longer the right to hunt in this portion of the Iowa wilderness.

As early as 1825 the United States government had taken steps to end the long, deadly feud between the Sioux and the allied Sacs and Foxes: a line was drawn from the mouth of the Upper Iowa River in northeastern Iowa to the second or upper fork of the Des Moines River and thence to the lower fork of the Calumet or Big Sioux River. Neither of the Indian nations was to cross this boundary to encroach upon the other's territory, but time demonstrated that the treaty line of 1825 availed nothing.

The next step to establish peace came in 1830. The same nations were prevailed upon by the United States to part with their titles to twenty-mile strips of land north and south of the boundary fixed five years before. This Neutral Ground, however, was to extend only from the Mississippi to the Des Moines. Events soon showed that long years of rivalry and enmity could not thus be forgotten all at once by an agreement to respect the neutrality of this uninhabited forty-mile strip: a scrap of paper proved to be no effective barrier against the war and hunting expeditions of savages thirsting for each other's blood. The Neutral Ground continued to be the scene of occasional frays between these enemies. Two years later the President of the United States exercised his power to allot the eastern portion of the barrier country to the Winnebago Indians in exchange for their cession of certain lands east of the Mississippi, and in 1837 the government agreed to let them

hunt upon the western portion also.¹³³ It was with considerable misgiving that the Winnebagoes took up their abode in this Iowa region as the buffer between two irreconcilable foes.

West of the Neutral Ground, upon the west bank of the Des Moines, the Sioux bands and the allied Sacs and Foxes still prosecuted their hunts, their hunting-grounds being separated by a wedge-shaped portion of Pottawattamie Indian country, the point of which reached the mouth of the East Fork of the Des Moines River. Setting out from here in the summer of 1835 Surveyor James Craig and his party ran the first line called for by the treaty of 1830: from the east or upper fork they proceeded over one hundred miles northwestward in the region bordering upon the West Fork of the Des Moines, passed "Lac D'Esprits (Spirit or Ghost Lake)" and the sources of the Little Sioux and the Floyd rivers, thence going southwestward along the Little Rock River, the Rock River, and down the Big Sioux or Calumet to the Missouri.

Thus did the lands of four tribes meet at one spot. That other tribes occasionally resorted to this region is evidenced by the report that sixteen Delaware Indians from the reservation near Fort Leavenworth in the autumn of 1841 made their way northward across the Pottawattamie reservation in western Iowa and somewhere in the northern part of Webster County encountered a large party of Sioux who surrounded and fired upon them. The Delawares put up a valiant fight but were killed to a man: only a Pottawattamie friend escaped and reached home badly wounded. The chiefs of the offended nation filed a heavy claim with the United States government for the loss of sixteen men, all the horses they had with them, riding saddles and pack saddles, guns, traps, blankets, clothing, and camp equipage.

¹³³ Kappler's *Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, pp. 251, 370.

The spot where the murderous outrage was committed came to be known as "the Delaware battle-ground".¹³⁴

The removal of the Sacs and Foxes from the Des Moines Valley in the autumn of 1845 and the early months of 1846 was followed by the government purchase of all the Pottawattamie lands in the summer of the same year. The Sioux bands, besides the Winnebagoes, were, therefore, the only tribes that could follow the chase in the region of the upper waters of the Des Moines. That they came into contact with lawless border whites as early as the summer months of 1846 may be gathered from a statement of grievances by the Yankton Sioux, whose village life was confined to the eastern Dakota country but whose hunts took them to the headwaters of the Des Moines River. They complained against American citizens residing upon the river because they furnished youthful Yankton braves with fire-water and then cheated them out of guns, horses, and buffalo robes.¹³⁵ The Winnebagoes sold their rights in the Neutral Ground in October, 1846, but retained possession until the first months of the year 1848.¹³⁶

While government surveyors were engaged in staking off the territory thus acquired from the Indian tribes in northern Iowa, certain bands of Sioux interfered with their operations and also subjected the pioneers in that region to repeated robberies and depredations. Orders were accordingly issued to a company of United States infantry in 1850 to erect Fort Clarke on the east bank of the Des Moines a

¹³⁴ *House Executive Documents*, 3d Session, 27th Congress, No. 2, p. 429; THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XI, pp. 86, 87. For Craig's map see the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. XI, p. 358.

¹³⁵ *House Executive Documents*, 2nd Session, 29th Congress, No. 4, p. 295. Henry Lott made a settlement just above the mouth of the Boone River in the spring of 1846 and was robbed by the Sioux before the end of the same year.— See *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IX, p. 96.

¹³⁶ Kappler's *Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, pp. 419, 420.

short distance below the mouth of Lizard River. Stores, munitions, and supplies for the fort were unloaded from steamers at Keokuk and then hauled overland for a distance of nearly three hundred miles. The garrison stationed at Fort Dodge, as it came to be called in 1851, busied itself with the usual duties of a frontier post, but as the country settled up and the Sioux Indians became less troublesome, after selling their interests in the lands of the valley in 1851, the need of the establishment of Fort Ridgley on the Minnesota River farther north caused the evacuation and sale of the Fort Dodge buildings in June, 1853.¹³⁷ Soon a flourishing city sprang up. The land of Iowa was at last clear, so far as the Indian title was concerned, and men could once more blaze the way for settlement and civilization into the northern and western portion of the State.

THE EARLIEST PUBLIC IMPROVEMENTS IN THE DES MOINES VALLEY

The first settlers in southeastern Iowa obtained what things they needed from St. Louis. Such imports as primitive pioneer conditions called for were landed at Keokuk and then transported by wagon overland or perhaps by simple water craft. Roads became fixed wherever the seasons and "the lay of the land" dictated. During the early years wants were few and long journeys infrequent, and the settlers were under no necessity of exporting their surplus agricultural products because they found ready consumers in the increasing population of their neighborhood, but when this cause no longer afforded a market at their doors, they began to urge the need of better transportation facilities. The Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Iowa authorized commissioners in various parts of the new coun-

¹³⁷ *Senate Documents*, 2nd Session, 31st Congress, No. 15, and 1st Session, 32d Congress, No. 14; *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XII, pp. 197-199.

try to locate and establish roads. For instance, in 1838, James Sutton, Joseph Robb, and James McMurry were appointed to mark a Territorial road from Keokuk to "the horse tail reach" on the Des Moines and thence up the river to Iowaville, passing through the towns of Farmington, Bentonsport, Columbus, and Philadelphia in Van Buren County.¹³⁸

One year later the Iowa legislature perceived the great importance of this road both to the Territory and to the federal government: Keokuk was "the natural and most convenient depot for all the extensive Des Moines country". When finished the highway would afford excellent facilities for the transportation of mails through a number of towns and a densely populated country to the Indian border. Inasmuch as the road passed over many tributary streams of the Des Moines and needed to be rendered passable in all seasons of the year, the expense of which was deemed too great to be borne by the Territory, the Legislative Assembly called upon the Iowa Delegate at Washington to use his influence in obtaining an appropriation of \$10,000 for the opening of the road. Congress refused to improve this highway and defeated a bill with that end in view, and so the pioneers were obliged to submit as well as they could to the inconveniences of western methods of transportation.¹³⁹

In the year 1839, however, Congress appropriated \$5000 to be spent by the Secretary of War for the construction of a road from Burlington to the new Sac and Fox Agency, and later authorized the expenditure of money for the construction and repair of seven bridges on this "Agency Road", although much more was asked to complete the work in a satisfactory manner. Such highways or military

¹³⁸ *Laws of the Territory of Iowa, 1838-1839*, p. 427.

¹³⁹ *Laws of the Territory of Iowa, 1839-1840*, pp. 150, 151; *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. III, p. 223.

roads seem to have been laid out by the federal government in the Territories so that troops, cannon, and munitions might, in case of war with the Indians or when needed for other purposes, be quickly moved from one portion of the Territory to another.¹⁴⁰

The transportation of goods upon the waters of the Des Moines River appears to have been confined entirely to canoes and keel-boats until the steamboat "Science" landed goods at the town of Keosauqua and ascended as far as Iowaville in September, 1837. Two months later Aaron W. Harlan shipped from St. Louis a consignment of merchandise on the "Pavilion", captained by William Phelps. On board this steamboat were Keokuk and the Sac and Fox chiefs and braves returning to Iowaville from a pleasure and business trip to Washington and other eastern cities.¹⁴¹ Although freighting by keel-boat continued to be the more dependable method of transportation to the pioneer towns upon the Des Moines, the American Fur Company frequently shipped supplies to its trading posts higher up the river in small steamboats. But many difficulties soon became apparent.

The Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Iowa recognized the value of Territorial waterways when it empowered William Meek and Sons, Henry Eno, and others to construct mill dams across the Des Moines River in Van Buren County. These two dams were to be not more than three feet above the common low water mark and were to contain convenient locks, not less than one hundred and thirty feet in length and thirty-five feet in width, for the free and undelayed passage of steam, keel, and flat boats,

¹⁴⁰ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. V, pp. 352, 670; *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. III, p. 222; *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VIII, p. 253; *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. III, p. 48.

¹⁴¹ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IV, p. 331.

rafts, and other water craft of at least two tons burden. Similar legislative action in 1841 and 1843 authorized John Godden, John R. Sparks, Isaac R. Campbell, Robert McKee, Ovid Grennell, and Arthur Thomes to erect dams in Lee and Van Buren counties.¹⁴²

There were two reasons why the pioneer legislators in 1839 brought the Des Moines River to the attention of Congress: first, its position between the Mississippi and the Missouri pointed it out as "the natural channel for imports and exports for the extensive and fertile country in the interior of Iowa and a portion of the State of Missouri"; and secondly, the Des Moines despite its importance afforded "but few facilities for navigation, without that improvement of which it is peculiarly susceptible, being admirably adapted to the building of dams for the purpose of slack water navigation." It was asserted that the channel and banks everywhere afforded suitable stone for the foundation and structure of necessary dams, and hydraulic power of incalculable value could be obtained for the country. Accordingly, the Iowa Delegate to Congress was requested to exert himself to obtain an appropriation for the survey of the Des Moines by a corps of engineers and also \$100,000 in money or land for the purpose of improving navigation.¹⁴³

Congress gave ear to this petition of the Territorial legislature by granting \$1000 for a survey of the Des Moines and Iowa rivers. With the arrival of favorable weather in the spring of 1841, Captain W. Bowling Guion of the United States Topographical Engineers proceeded from St. Louis to make a general examination of the Des Moines River and thus get a knowledge of its general character and the nature

¹⁴² *Laws of the Territory of Iowa*, 1838-1839, pp. 338-340; 1840-1841, pp. 103, 107; 1842-1843, pp. 47, 59, 68.

¹⁴³ *Laws of the Territory of Iowa*, 1839-1840, pp. 148, 149.

and extent of the obstructions to navigation. Guion and his party obtained a small, light draught keel-boat at the Chouteau trading post near the Sac and Fox Agency, ascended the stream about seventeen miles above the mouth of Raccoon Fork, and then descended to the Mississippi. The chief characteristics of the Des Moines River were found to be "a great declination in the plane of its bed, causing in time of flood a very swift current, unusual uniformity in the depth of water in its channel, great sinuosity of course, and a lesser amount of obstructions in the upper than in the lower parts."

Besides a small number of snags and trees, there were twelve rapids or "riffles", as the boatmen called them, and two mill dams — one at Keosauqua and another ten miles below. These obstructions effectually prevented the passage of loaded keel-boats as well as steamboats. Guion declared that from the mouth of the river to the American Fur Company's trading house there was nowhere less than two feet of water, or perhaps ten inches in very dry seasons; while higher up the depth would be no less than three feet or one foot and a half in a dry season. Besides, during the three or four month period of high water there would always be from five to fifteen feet of water in the channel. The removal of rocks, snags, logs, and overhanging trees would admit the free passage of boats. Guion did not hesitate to assert the propriety of making such improvements at an estimated expense of \$29,000, "for the Des Moines is a beautiful river, . . . whilst its banks present one of the most fertile and lovely countries nature ever presented to the view of man, abounding in immense fields of bituminous coal from Rackoon Fork nearly to its mouth. . . . In fine, such are the temptations which this country offers, that the portion now in the possession of the Indians will no sooner pass into the hands of the United States than it

will be crowded with whites, as that which lies below the Indian country is becoming already.”¹⁴⁴

On a horseback journey up the Des Moines Valley in June, 1841, Lieutenant John Charles Frémont¹⁴⁵ took particular note of the botany and geology of the region through which he rode. Proceeding from Missouri over luxuriant prairie bottoms “covered with a profusion of flowers,” he and a small surveying party forded the river at Portland and later reached “the little village of Iowaville, lying on the line which separates the Indian lands from those to which their title has already been extinguished.” “After leaving this place,” he continued, “we began to fall in with parties of Indians on horseback, and here and there, scattered along the river bank, under tents of blankets stretched along the boughs, were Indian families; the men lying about smoking, and the women engaged in making baskets and cooking—apparently as much at home as if they had spent their lives on the spot.”

From the American Fur Company’s upper post Frémont proceeded with instruments and provisions in a canoe propelled by five men, though Frémont himself walked most of the time, examining the topography of the southern bank of the river with its heavy and dense bodies of timber, luxuriant soil, and almost impenetrable undergrowth. The party returned from the Raccoon to the mouth of the river and Frémont made a survey noting the rapids, bends, and sand bars: he felt sure that “steamboats drawing four feet water may run to the mouth of Cedar river [in Marion

¹⁴⁴ *House Executive Documents*, 3rd Session, 27th Congress, No. 38, pp. 13–15.

¹⁴⁵ It is said that Thomas H. Benton of Missouri did not favor Frémont’s suit for his daughter’s hand and accordingly “obtained through his political influence with the government, what was substantially a decree of banishment, in the form of an order assigning the lieutenant” to the duty of surveying the lower Des Moines River.—*Annals of Iowa*, Vol. VII, p. 398; *Memoirs of John C. Frémont*, p. 68.

County?] from the 1st of April to the middle of June; and keelboats drawing two feet, from the 20th of March to the 1st of July; and those drawing 20 inches, again, from the middle of October to the 20th of November. . . . The removal of loose stones at some points, and the construction of artificial banks at some few others, to destroy the abrupt bends, would be all that is required. The variable nature of the bed and the velocity of the current would keep the channel constantly clear.”¹⁴⁶

To the pioneer settlers of the Des Moines Valley these investigations must have seemed worthless, because the government did not immediately follow them up with actual improvements. “Pork barrel” appropriations had not attained so much prominence then as now, especially in the Territories of the West. In the absence of railways the hope of westerners naturally lay in the direction of water routes improved at the expense of the federal government. Accordingly, the people of Iowa voiced their wishes in Congress through their Delegate, Augustus Caesar Dodge. This frontier representative declared on June 8, 1846, that the country through which the Des Moines River ran was one of unsurpassed fertility and was then being densely settled. “From the central position of this river, and its other advantages,” he told Congress, “there are a very large proportion of the people of Iowa who believe, and desire, their ultimate seat of Government should be upon it.”¹⁴⁷

Thus championed by their spokesman in his efforts to bring them under the fostering protection of the general government, the infant settlements of the Territory of Iowa were not indifferently nursed when Congress and President Polk in August, 1846, gave them alternate sections of all

¹⁴⁶ *House Executive Documents*, 3rd Session, 27th Congress, No. 38, pp. 16-20.

¹⁴⁷ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 29th Congress, p. 940; *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. III, p. 600.

unsold and unencumbered public lands for a distance of five miles on each side of the Des Moines to aid in the improvement of the navigation of the river from its mouth to the Raccoon Fork. This grant of thousands of the most fertile and valuable acres in Iowa was accepted by the First General Assembly: nearly one-half of the people of the new State were directly interested in the matter because a system of locks and dams enabling fair-sized steamboats to navigate the river at all seasons of the year would furnish an easy, safe, and cheap mode of transportation for the vast and increasing productions of the valley, and also because such an improvement would greatly add to the population and wealth of the State. It is not possible or necessary to give in detail here the history of the nonfulfillment of a project of such large proportions.¹⁴⁸

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¹⁴⁸ Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. I, pp. 342-344; Gatch's *History of the Des Moines Land Grant* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. I.

INDIAN AGENTS IN IOWA

[This is the fourth and last paper in a series dealing with the Indian agent, written by Miss Gallaher. An article dealing with the agents among the Sac and Fox Indians in Iowa appeared in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS for July, 1916.—EDITOR]

II

AGENTS AT THE WINNEBAGO, ST. PETER'S, COUNCIL BLUFFS, AND TAMA AGENCIES

THE WINNEBAGO AGENCY

While the Sacs and Foxes had been reluctantly abandoning Iowa, the Winnebagoes were living in the northeastern part of the Territory. After the transference of Joseph M. Street from Prairie du Chien to Rock Island in 1834, the duties of agent among the Winnebagoes devolved upon the commander of Fort Crawford, although Street appears to have spent part of his time there until 1838, when he was ordered to establish the new Sac and Fox Agency on the Des Moines River. Under this arrangement Colonel Zachary Taylor, who was in command at Fort Crawford until 1837 was also in charge of Indian affairs. Associated with him in the work was Sub-agent T. A. B. Boyd, whose first appointment was dated June 30, 1834. On March 31, 1837, Boyd was appointed sub-agent at a salary of \$750 a year and appears to have been in charge of the agency until March, 1839, when he was removed.¹ Little seems to have been done for the Indians under the administration of Taylor and Boyd, except the continuance of the regular

¹ *House Executive Documents*, 3rd Session, 25th Congress, Vol. III, No. 103, p. 4; letter of Mr. E. B. Meritt, Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to the writer, May 17, 1915.

routine of the office. A list of some of the employees at this sub-agency in 1839 gives an idea of the number of people employed and the salaries paid:

	SALARY	DATE OF LAST APPOINTMENT
T. A. B. Boyd, sub-agent	\$750	
David Lowry, sub-agent	750	July 1, 1839
Simeon L'Ecuier, interpreter	300	Oct. 1, 1838
Sylvanus Lowry, interpreter at Winne- bago school	500	Oct. 1, 1838
Alfred W. Elwes, physician at school	600	Oct. 1, 1838
Alfred W. Elwes, physician at Fort Crawford	200	Aug. 15, 1837
Abner McDowell, teacher and superin- tendent	500	Sept. 1, 1839
Nancy McDowell, teacher	480	Sept. 1, 1839
Joseph Mills, teacher	480	May 1, 1839
Evelina Mills, teacher	480	May 1, 1839
Minerva Brinson, teacher	480	March 1, 1839
Ann Lemon, cook	180	March 24, 1839
J. Reynerson, blacksmith at farm	480	July 1, 1838
Harmon Schneyder, blacksmith at Prairie du Chien	480	April 1, 1839
John Linton, farmer	240	Nov. 24, 1836
Thomas Linton, farmer	240	Nov. 24, 1836

David Lowry who was appointed sub-agent on July 1, 1839, was a Presbyterian missionary.² He came to Prairie du Chien in 1832 as a teacher of the proposed Winnebago school, but it was not until 1834 that a school house and other necessary buildings were erected on the Yellow River in what is now Fairview Township in Allamakee County, Iowa. This school, with a farm near it under Colonel John Thomas, became the educational center for the Winnebagoes and probably exerted as much influence over the Indians as the agency at Prairie du Chien could. This was in con-

² *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 26th Congress, Vol. IV, No. 126, p. 3.

formity with the plan of Joseph M. Street to attract the Indians westward by placing their institutions in the locality where it was desired that they should settle.³ In his report for 1838 Mr. Lowry reported that thirty-six children were attending the school, eleven of whom boarded there, while the remainder received clothing and rations but lived at home. Around this school were grouped thirty-eight families, each with two acres of cultivated land. Fifteen miles west of the school was another farm of forty acres.⁴

When David Lowry became the sub-agent he retained his interest in the school and attempted to make the sub-agency an intellectual, industrial, and moral center for the Winnebagoes. In 1839 he reported seventy-nine children in the school under several teachers. Sewing and farming were combined with the usual school work, but even Mr. Lowry considered the Indians rather slow in acquiring the civilization of the white man. Although the treaty of 1837 provided \$2800 for the support of the school, this sum was found inadequate because the children had to be fed and clothed as well as instructed.⁵

According to the treaty of November 1, 1837, the Winnebagoes agreed to remove within eight months west of a north and south line drawn twenty miles west of the Mississippi River. They reserved the right to hunt in the region between this line and the Mississippi, but their homes were to be west of it. This agreement, however, was very unpopular with the main body of the Winnebagoes and they refused to move. The officers were unwilling to use force

³ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XII, p. 405.

John Thomas became superintendent of the Indian school and farm on July 8, 1840. At this time there were fifty-two in the school.—*Senate Documents*, 2nd Session, 26th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 366.

⁴ *Senate Documents*, 3rd Session, 25th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 519, 520.

⁵ *House Executive Documents*, 1st Session, 26th Congress, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 508, 509.

and for several years the Indians remained in their old haunts in Wisconsin. Again, in the spring of 1840, young Winneshiek promised General Atkinson that they would go, but still they lingered.⁶

David Lowry, the sub-agent, believed in tact and persuasion rather than in force. In his report in September, 1840, he stated that he expected to remove the sub-agency from Prairie du Chien and the school from the Yellow River by October of that year. Already arrangements had been made for the breaking of one thousand acres of land on the Turkey River, and two blacksmiths had been sent there and one to the Red Cedar River. A grist mill was also being erected. Lowry believed that all these things would attract the Indians westward, since they were dependent upon such measures for sustenance. The new location of the agency was on the Turkey River near the site of the present town of Fort Atkinson in Allamakee County. Here the annuities were distributed; and the old buildings at Prairie du Chien were offered for sale.⁷

The Indians were slow to accept the inevitable. They protested against their removal to the Neutral Ground,⁸ for to them it was neither neutral nor desirable. The Winnebagoes from the vicinity of Fort Winnebago crossed the Mississippi by June, 1840, but there they halted. Lowry wrote in his report for 1840: "If they can have liberty to linger on the Mississippi, *drinking, fighting, stealing, starving*, they will not hesitate to forego the advantages of raising corn in their own country." Even Lowry's patience

⁶ *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 26th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 482-486; *Senate Documents*, 2nd Session, 26th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 249, 250, 252.

⁷ *Senate Documents*, 2nd Session, 26th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 249, 250, 338.

⁸ For an account of the Neutral Ground see Van der Zee's *The Neutral Ground* in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XIII, pp. 311-348.

was exhausted and he began to consider the use of force.⁹ Gradually, however, the Indians yielded and began to settle in the Neutral Ground.

The Winnebagoes at this time numbered about two thousand, according to Sub-agent David Lowry. Their most influential chiefs were Winneshiek, Two Shillings, Little Priest, and Whirling Thunder. By 1842 most of the members of the tribe were settled in the new territory; 873 were living on Sioux lands, 254 on the Upper Iowa River, and 756 near the sub-agency. Their homes were built of bark or flags and a few of them cultivated patches of corn. Temptation, however, had not been left behind. Lowry declared that thirty-nine Indians had perished in drunken brawls the preceding year and many others were injured. "Unless something more effectual than has yet been tried, can be adopted for the preservation of the Winnebagoes", he declared, "it is evident they must soon be numbered with the nations *that have been.*" To obtain whiskey they not only paid the money they received from the government, but they traded food, clothing, horses, and guns for it. Blankets which cost the United States \$3.50 were traded for one bottle of whiskey. The sub-agent tried in every way to prevent this — even organizing a temperance society. Several hundred Indians joined, but in a few weeks they were drinking worse than ever. Nor was legal procedure any more effective. As the sub-agent wrote: "Law[s], however, can be of little benefit to the red man, while their entire execution is in the hands of his oppressors; secrecy, evasions, combinations, and even perjury itself, will ever set them at defiance."

"What can you promise these Indians by removal?" asked Lowry. "Will not the same white population follow them, and continue the present work of death? Has it not

⁹ *Senate Documents*, 2nd Session, 26th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 335.

always been the case?" One suggestion made by Mr. Lowry was the establishment of a strip of land around the reservation which neither whites nor Indians should be permitted to cross.¹⁰

At the same time an effort was made to interest the Winnebagoes in agriculture. Between four and five hundred acres were under cultivation, one hundred and seventy-five of which were farmed by the Indians after being prepared by white laborers. Wheat, corn, potatoes, beans, turnips, buckwheat, and oats were the chief crops, and one of the difficulties of the agent was to keep the Indians from eating the seed given them and killing the work oxen.¹¹

David Lowry continued as sub-agent until July 5, 1844, when he was removed, although he remained among the Winnebagoes as teacher and missionary. James R. McGregor was appointed sub-agent, but served only until June 2, 1845, when Jonathan E. Fletcher was appointed sub-agent for the Winnebagoes.¹²

Governor John Chambers, in his report as Superintendent of Indian Affairs in September, 1845, wrote as follows of the conditions at the Winnebago Agency:

Of the Winnebagoes I regret to have to repeat that they are the most drunken, worthless, and degraded tribe of which I have any

¹⁰ *Senate Documents*, 3rd Session, 27th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 416-419.

¹¹ *Senate Documents*, 3rd Session, 27th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 416-421.

The list of employees at the Turkey River Agency in 1843 consisted of the sub-agent, who received \$750 a year; one teacher who was paid \$500 a year; three teachers who received \$480 each; a physician bearing the soporific name of A. Lull, whose salary was \$1000; a miller at \$600 salary; a steward at \$240; three blacksmiths at \$480 each; three strikers at \$240; ten white "agriculturists" at \$148 a year; one Winnebago "agriculturist" at \$96; and two interpreters, E. M. Lowry who received \$500 a year and L. Lequier who received \$300.—*House Executive Documents*, 1st Session, 28th Congress, Vol. III, No. 69, p. 5.

¹² Letter of E. B. Meritt, Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to the writer, May 17, 1915.

For a brief biography of Jonathan E. Fletcher, see the *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. X, pp. 232, 233.

knowledge. They have heretofore wasted their annuity provisions in a very short time after receiving them, and the large sum paid them annually in money passes almost immediately into the hands of the traders — so that there is some portion of almost every year in which they suffer for food. An attempt was made last year, under the authority of the department, to guard against this painful state of things, by applying a part of their annuity to the purchase of provisions, but they obstinately protested against it, and the benevolent intention of the department was defeated by the timidity and ignorance of the late sub-agent; and the effect of it would have been intense suffering, but that the same sub-agent, by transcending his powers and applying money put into his hands by the Government for other purposes, to the purchase of provisions, saved them from the consequences of the obstinacy with which they refused to let their own money be supplied.

The habitual drunkenness of this tribe, and their habit of wandering into the settled parts of Wisconsin, and of this Territory, and their obstinate perseverance in establishing themselves in considerable numbers on the Mississippi river, out of their own country, in direct violation of their treaties with us, has made it very desirable to compel them to keep within their own bounds; and on several occasions they have been brought in by military detachments from Fort Atkinson, but they almost immediately wander off again; and it is now estimated by the sub-agent at Turkey river, that about one half of the tribe is in Wisconsin and along the Mississippi.¹³

At the same time the new sub-agent made a report, although he had been in office only since July 5th. This report, dated September 20, 1845, gave a brief account of the condition of the Indians whose “moral and intellectual character has been greatly underrated.” As usual, whiskey was the chief enemy of the Indians. Captain Edwin V. Sumner of Fort Atkinson kept the whites from bringing it into the Indian country, but could not prevent the Indians from going after it. The report of the distribution of the work on the farm is interesting. Of the two hundred and

¹³ *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 29th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 482, 483.

sixty acres enclosed, ninety-four acres were cultivated by white laborers, eighty-four by squaws, fifty-eight by half-breeds, and twenty-four acres were uncultivated.¹⁴

A more complete account of conditions at the agency is to be found in Fletcher's report for 1846. According to his estimate, there were about 2400 Winnebagoes located in twenty-two bands throughout the Neutral Ground. About three hundred of them made no attempt to obtain food except by hunting, while the others did a little farming. A carpenter was employed at the agency, chiefly in making coffins for the Indians. Several blacksmiths, five teachers under David Lowry¹⁵ as superintendent, a physician, and a number of farm laborers were among the employees.

Fletcher's opinion of the pioneers was given in the following words:

It would be a delightful task to lead this people [the Winnebagoes], step by step, in the path of civilization and improvement, if that path were not blockaded at every step by a whiskey keg, and every effort to promote their welfare and happiness thwarted and counteracted by a set of heartless whiskey dealers established along the line of the Indian country, a few feet beyond the jurisdiction of the military officer and sub-agent, for the purpose of plundering these Indians of their money and their goods; to rob them of their food, their clothing, their virtue, and their health: but it is idle to complain; the laws of the Territory are inoperative and impotent to remedy this evil; and the hope, once entertained, that the state of public morals among the hardy settlers of our frontier would become sufficiently elevated and correct to forbid the longer existence of these nuisances, has ceased to exist.

The opportunities for trading with this tribe are evident from the report of Governor James Clarke in 1846, in which

¹⁴ *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 29th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 487, 488.

Fletcher reported seventy-five half-breeds among the Winnebagoes in 1846.—*House Executive Documents*, 2nd Session, 29th Congress, Vol. I, No. 4, p. 247.

¹⁵ David Lowry was made superintendent of the Indian school in May, 1846.—*House Executive Documents*, 2nd Session, 29th Congress, Vol. I, No. 4, p. 315.

he stated that the Winnebagoes received \$48,000 in money and about the same amount in provisions.¹⁶

In the meantime, constant but unsuccessful attempts had been made to persuade the Indians to cede the Neutral Ground and move to a reservation in Minnesota. The Indians refused, but at last, on May 18, 1848, the department ordered the agency moved to Minnesota, and Jonathan E. Fletcher was reappointed to serve in the new location. The influence of the traders, who were interested in keeping the Winnebagoes in their vicinity, and a fear of the Chippewas and Sioux produced a panic when this order was made known to the Indians. They scattered like frightened sheep — some to Wisconsin, some to western Iowa, while others joined the Otoes southwest of the Missouri River. Only a few remained at the agency, and with these Mr. Fletcher started on June 8, 1848, for the new reservation. By July 30th, they reached the Watab River, three hundred and ten miles away. David Lowry had closed the Turkey River school in the preceding May and assisted the sub-agent in choosing and establishing the new agency site on the reservation which was expected to be “permanent”.

This removal completed the history of the Winnebago Agency in Iowa. Gradually, the scattered members of the tribe joined the agent in Minnesota.¹⁷ Mr. Fletcher remained with the Winnebagoes for several years. His wife acted as a teacher and one of his sons as interpreter.

THE ST. PETER'S AGENCY

The Sioux Agency, near Fort Snelling, became connected with the history of Iowa in 1838 when the western part of what is now Minnesota was included in the new Territory

¹⁶ *House Executive Documents*, 2nd Session, 29th Congress, Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 243, 247, 248, 249, 250.

¹⁷ *House Executive Documents*, 2nd Session, 30th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 459-463.

of Iowa, and the agent became a subordinate of Governor Robert Lucas, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for that Territory. At that time the agent was Lawrence Taliaferro who had served since 1819. His salary was \$1500 a year and he was assisted by Scott Campbell as interpreter and Richard D. Welch as farmer.¹⁸ In June, 1838, John Emerson was appointed agency physician.

The Indians of this region had been more or less connected with the Iowa country even before this time, chiefly through wars with the Sacs and Foxes. The report of the Governor of Wisconsin Territory in 1837 had the following to say of them:

The St. Peter's band of Indians, who reside in the immediate vicinity of Fort Snelling, raise corn and vegetables, not sufficient for the consumption of their families, and depend on the chase, in part, for their subsistence. The distant bands, who reside near the head of St. Peter's river, depend on the chase entirely for support, subsisting on the buffalo principally. They frequently make excursions to the Des Moines and Iowa rivers, where they meet the Sac and Fox Indians, with whom they are at war.¹⁹

Lawrence Taliaferro resigned in December, 1839, after twenty years of work among the same Indians. The personnel of the agency in the September preceding his resignation had been made up of the agent, an interpreter whose salary was \$300, two blacksmiths at \$600 a year, their two assistants who were paid \$240 each, seven farmers at \$600 a year, an armorer who was paid the same wages, and his assistant who received \$240 a year. With the exception of the agent most of these employees had been appointed during the preceding two years.²⁰

¹⁸ *House Executive Documents*, 2nd Session, 25th Congress, Vol. VI, No. 135, p. 4.

¹⁹ *House Executive Documents*, 2nd Session, 25th Congress, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 575.

²⁰ *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 26th Congress, Vol. IV, No. 126, p. 4.

The new agent, Amos J. Bruce, took charge of the agency early in 1840 and sent in his first report on September 30, 1840. He grouped the Indians under his charge into six divisions; the Medawakanton Sioux, whose number he estimated at 1792; the East Wahpetons, about 325 in number; the West Wahpetons, numbering about 386; the South Sissetons, one hundred and twenty miles north of St. Peter's; the North Sissetons; and the Assiniboins.²¹

Bruce's work differed but little from that of the other agents. His wards were more scattered and the pressure of the white settlers was less direct, but his duties were like those of most agents of the period. The Sioux were always on the verge of starvation, although their land was unusually fertile. The growing season was short and the Indians were always poor farmers, so that crops were inadequate. Furs had become scarce and the buffalo were rapidly being exterminated. Almost every report of Amos J. Bruce contains a request for supplies for the Indians under his charge. He was the dispenser of the government annuities and provisions, but as was the case among the Winnebagoes, the whiskey-sellers usually succeeded in obtaining not only the money, but horses, guns, traps, and supplies in exchange for whiskey. Of the regular traders Bruce spoke very cordially, commending their attempts to prevent the sale of liquor and their willingness to furnish the starving Indians with provisions to the best of their ability.

In addition to the regular work of the agency, Bruce also supervised the work of several schools maintained by the

²¹ *Senate Documents*, 2nd Session, 26th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 325, 326.

In 1846 Bruce reported 2141 Medawakanton Sioux, who received \$10,000 in specie in accordance with the treaty of 1837, \$10,000 worth of goods, and \$5,500 in provisions. These were paid to the chiefs of the villages and by them distributed to the families. The treaty also provided for farmers and blacksmiths.—*House Executive Documents*, 2nd Session, 29th Congress, Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 245–247.

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions — at least the missionaries in charge sent to him reports of their work which he included in his report.²²

At this agency a new difficulty presented itself in the form of a band of half-breeds from across the Canadian line, who were in the habit of coming into the reservation to hunt. In the summer of 1845 Captain Sumner warned them not to hunt in the United States and they promised to obey his command, but at the same time laid claim to the territory as belonging to them. A year later Governor Clarke included in his report a remonstrance against the robbery of the Sioux by these Indians and whites from Canada. In addition to this, the Sioux were usually hostile to their other neighbors, the Chippewas, Pottawattamies, Sacs and Foxes, and Winnebagoes. To keep in touch with these Indians, who ranged from the Canadian line to central Iowa and from the Mississippi River far to the west, was a task which required much ability, patience, and tact.²³

On a reservation of this extent the agent was not in control of the Indians. He could assist them, give advice, present their condition for consideration at Washington, but coercion except by war was an impossibility. Bruce remained in charge of this agency, reporting to the Governor of Iowa, until 1846, when the present State boundaries were established and the agency at St. Peter's was no longer included in Iowa.

THE COUNCIL BLUFFS AGENCY

The most important agencies of Iowa lay to the east and northeast, for there the Indians were most numerous.

²² *House Executive Documents*, 2nd Session, 29th Congress, Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 245-247.

²³ *House Executive Documents*, 2nd Session, 29th Congress, Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 244, 245; *Senate Documents*, 3rd Session, 27th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 430, 431; *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 29th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 489, 490.

There were few Indians between the Missouri and Des Moines rivers during the early history of Iowa, and only a small number lived immediately west of the Missouri. The traffic up the Missouri River was nevertheless very important and in February, 1827, John Dougherty had established an agency on the west bank of the Missouri. His work lay almost entirely to the west and northwest, however, so that he can not be included in a list of Iowa agents.²⁴

By the treaty of July 15, 1830, made at Prairie du Chien, the Sioux, Sacs and Foxes, Ioways, Omahas, Otoes, and Missouris ceded their title to the territory south of the Rock River (in what is now Sioux County, Iowa), east of the Big Sioux and Missouri rivers, including the northeastern part of the present State of Missouri and extending eastward to the watershed between the Des Moines and Missouri rivers.²⁵

Three years later, by the treaty of September 26, 1833, the United States commissioners made a treaty with the Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawattamies by which this land secured by the former treaty was given to these Indians in return for their old lands. The cession was to contain at least five million acres. As finally arranged it was bounded on the north by a line running through the source of the Little Sioux River, the Missouri River on the west, the Missouri State line on the south, and the Sac and Fox lands on the east.²⁶

²⁴ Benjamin O'Fallon, a nephew of William Clark, had been appointed Indian agent for Missouri Territory in 1815 and had established his headquarters at a place called Council Bluffs, but had no permanent agency. This Council Bluffs was on the west side of the river.—*Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, p. 24.

²⁵ Kappler's *Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, pp. 305, 306; Van der Zee's *Episodes in the Early History of the Western Iowa Country* in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XI, p. 337.

²⁶ Kappler's *Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, p. 402; *House Executive Documents*, 2nd Session, 25th Congress, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 588, 589.

By the spring of 1835 the Pottawattamies had started westward, but the first who came were disappointed. By November, 1837, however, about two thousand had crossed the Mississippi River, and on April 28, 1837, Dr. Edwin James was appointed sub-agent for these Indians.²⁷ On July 28th, Rev. Moses Merrill chronicled the arrival of the new agent at Council Bluffs in company with General Atkinson, Colonel Kearny, and one hundred "Putawatamie Indians" who were to locate on the eastern side of the Missouri, opposite the already established agency at Bellevue. The new sub-agent was accompanied by his wife and son and there was some social intercourse between the white families on the west side and the newcomers. Both Reverend Merrill and the sub-agent tried to prevent the Indians from visiting, however, for quarrels were frequently the result.²⁸

The new sub-agency, which was subordinate to the agency at Bellevue, was located at what was called Trader's Point, in what is now Mills County, Iowa. David Hardin, the agency farmer, who had been appointed in 1836 at a salary of \$600, arrived in 1838, but the organization of the work seems to have been slow.²⁹ Since this was not an independent agency, its reports were not made to the Governor of the Territory of Iowa, but through the agent at Bellevue to the superintendent at St. Louis.

²⁷ *House Executive Documents*, 2nd Session, 25th Congress, Vol. VI, No. 135, p. 4.

²⁸ *Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska State Historical Society*, Vol. IV, pp. 158, 184, 185, 186.

Moses Merrill was a Baptist missionary who settled among the Otoes in 1833. At this time he and his family were living about six miles from Bellevue on the west bank of the Missouri. See also Morton's *History of Nebraska*, Vol. I, pp. 67-70.

²⁹ Morton's *History of Nebraska*, Vol. I, p. 42; Fulton's *The Red Men of Iowa*, p. 170.

"Colonel" Peter A. Sarpy was the chief trader at Trader's Point.—Morton's *History of Nebraska*, Vol. I, pp. 70-72. The name is also written Pierre A. Sarpy.

Dr. James remained as agent only until August 29, 1838, and for some months the position appears to have been unfilled, for Stephen Cooper, the next sub-agent, was not appointed until April 4, 1839. His salary, like that of all sub-agents, was \$750 a year. His assistants, according to his report in the fall of 1839, were John Gantt, issuing agent, who received three dollars per day; Claude La Framboise, interpreter, whose salary was \$300 annually; and Elijah Stevens, blacksmith, and John La Framboise, assistant blacksmith, who received \$480 and \$240 respectively.³⁰

In 1841 Stephen Cooper reported that the Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawattamies who were under his charge were friendly to the Sacs and Foxes, Pawnees, and Ioways, but feared the Sioux who had recently killed four Pottawattamies in the vicinity of Billy Caldwell's village. Colonel Kearny and a party of dragoons had been in camp at the sub-agency from September 29 to October 8, 1840, to quiet the fears of the Pottawattamies who were much frightened at the hostile demonstration of the Sioux. The Indians of the sub-agency, numbering about two thousand, were settled in villages from two to fifteen miles from Council Bluffs, with the exception of about one-third of the members of the tribe who were located about fifty miles to the east on the Nishnabotna River. Their chief was an Indian known as Bigfoot.

The sub-agency at this time was located on the Iowa side of the Missouri River, one mile east of its confluence with the Platte, "in a small walnut grove, surrounded by a small bottom prairie, dry and very fertile." This was part of the Missouri bottom which made up a strip about five miles wide between the river and the bluffs. Swampy land alternated with dry prairie like that on which the agency buildings stood and the whole was dotted with groves of

³⁰ *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 26th Congress, Vol. IV, No. 126, p. 5.

cottonwood, elm, walnut, coffee bean, hackberry, and other trees. Cooper disliked the location because he feared that the swamps would make it unhealthful and because the place was in danger from floods. To the east, the land rose sharply two or three hundred feet, forming the Missouri bluffs, through which creeks cut their way at intervals. Beyond the bluffs stretched the treeless prairie. This lack of timber was a great hardship to the Indians who had been accustomed to the woods.

One blacksmith and his assistant aided the Indians, but no farmer was employed nor was one desired. No government schools were provided, although two Catholic priests had a school and chapel and also gave some medical care to their flock. Goods were supplied by seven licensed traders and whiskey was furnished by many who smuggled it across the Missouri line.³¹

Stephen Cooper served as sub-agent until July 10, 1841. James W. Deadrick was appointed to that office during the following September, but he was dismissed August 9, 1842.³²

Again the sub-agency was without a man in charge, the agent at Bellevue probably performing the necessary duties, until March 24, 1843, when Richard S. Elliott was appointed. The temporary character of the Indian occupation made the work of this agency, like that of all Iowa agencies, very difficult. Elliott estimated the number of Indians in 1845 at two thousand; the population had neither increased nor decreased during the previous five years. The sub-

³¹ *Senate Documents*, 2nd Session, 26th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 321, 322, 377; *House Executive Documents*, 2nd Session, 25th Congress, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 589.

Billy Caldwell was one of the chiefs. His Indian name was Saw-ga-nash (the Englishman) for his father was an Irish colonel in the British army.—Fulton's *The Red Men of Iowa*, p. 166.

³² Letter of E. B. Meritt, Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to the writer, May 17, 1915.

agent regretted the lack of schools and missionaries for he believed that the salvation of the Indians lay in early manual education.

These Pottawattamies were in great fear of the Sioux, but in Elliott's estimation their greatest danger was from whiskey. When an Indian went to one of the grog-shops, he declared, "he does not get away until he has got rid of horse, saddle, blanket, gun, and whatever property he may have with him, if the dealer can possibly make him drunk enough to carry on the plunder effectually. . . . To expect an agent, alone and unaided, without any military force, to put a stop to all this, is preposterous. What can you do by 'moral suasion' even among the whites, where strong passions and base appetites are to be restrained? And how much less among a rude people, such as the unlettered, untaught Indians!"³³

In 1845 the office of the sub-agent was moved to "Point Aux Poulos, on the northeast bank of the Missouri river, about twenty miles below the mouth of Boyer's river, and opposite Bellevue". Three trading houses, a mill, and a smith's shop completed the agency buildings, although a second smith and an assistant had been appointed.³⁴ Such establishments, however, could be only temporary, for as early as 1845 the Indians were bargaining with Major Harvey for the sale of their lands and their removal to the Indian Territory. Before this was accomplished, Richard S. Elliott was removed, on October 14, 1845, and his place was filled by the appointment of R. B. Mitchell, whose first report was submitted to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs on September 11, 1846.

³³ *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 29th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 546-554.

³⁴ *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 29th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 554.

The mill had been provided for in the treaty of September 26, 1833, the blacksmith by the treaty of July 29, 1827.

The Indians at this time were in great need of a physician, one-tenth of the population having died during the previous year. In 1847 Sub-agent Mitchell reported that conditions were unchanged, except that the consumption of liquor had diminished since the receipt of the circular of March 3, 1847, concerning the regulation of trade. The Indians were expecting to move that fall and little was being attempted in the way of agriculture. Although they disliked their present home, the Pottawattamies were much dissatisfied with the lands offered them, but nothing else was available.³⁵

Finally, in June, 1846, the Pottawattamies made a new treaty with the United States by which they agreed to move to the Kansas River. The last report of the Council Bluffs sub-agent was made in the fall of 1847. By the close of that year most of the Pottawattamies had left the eastern bank of the Missouri. A few remained to hunt, but the sub-agency at Council Bluffs was closed.

Accounts of this Pottawattamie sub-agency are more or less incomplete and conflicting. Even the site of the old Council Bluffs is a matter of dispute. As a matter of fact it was out of the main current of everything except trade and whiskey. Indeed, this was the worst possible location for the Indians, since every steamer that ascended the Missouri carried liquor. Father De Smet's journal vividly pictures the conditions following the arrival of whiskey and \$90,000 in annuities. The sub-agent "Mr. Cowper" had a restraining influence, but barrels of whiskey were sold in his presence, although the sale was contrary to the regulations. The Indians begged the agent to prevent the introduction of liquor, yet when it was brought, they would offer

³⁵ *House Executive Documents*, 2nd Session, 29th Congress, Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 300, 301; *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 30th Congress, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 869-871.

to sell their children to secure it. Murders, mutilations, and quarrels were of frequent occurrence.³⁶

The same conditions probably prevailed under the other sub-agents. Their reports indicate that whiskey was frequently sold. How far they voluntarily permitted this it is impossible to decide, for the enforcement of any law was difficult where there was no regular civil or military force to compel obedience.

THE TAMA AGENCY

When the Sacs and Foxes left Iowa about 1846, it was believed that they would never return, but in spite of the treaty and the increasing white settlements, little groups of homesick Indians wandered back to their old homes along the Iowa and Des Moines rivers. When the lands in Kansas were allotted in 1859, another group of dissatisfied Indians left the tribe and joined those already in Iowa, although by so doing they forfeited their rights to annuities and provisions.³⁷

The destitute condition of these exiles attracted attention and an effort was made to relieve them in 1866. In 1867 Congress passed a law which provided that the Sac and Fox Indians then living in "Tamar" County, Iowa, should be paid pro rata, so long as they were peaceable and had permission from the State to remain. The entire amount due the tribe each year was \$51,000.³⁸

Before Congress had acted officially a special agent was

³⁶ Chittenden and Richardson's *Father De Smet's Life and Travels Among the North American Indians*, Vol. I, pp. 173-175.

For an account of the site and conditions of Council Bluffs at this time, see Van der Zee's *Episodes in the Early History of the Western Iowa Country* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XI, pp. 343-363.

³⁷ Fulton's *The Red Men of Iowa*, pp. 436, 437.

³⁸ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XIV, Ch. 173, p. 507.

This permission had been granted by Iowa in 1856.—*Laws of Iowa*, 1856 (Extra Session), Ch. 30, pp. 77.

appointed to take charge of this band of Indians who were living near Toledo, Iowa. Leander Clark, the man thus appointed, began his work on the first of July, 1866, at a salary of \$1500 a year. In his first report, dated August 24, 1867, he gave a brief history of the band of which he was in charge. He reported that they made their home in the summer on an eighty-acre piece of timber land near Toledo, purchased by them in 1857. Although they had been in Iowa for fifteen or twenty years they had received nothing from the government until the payment was made by Clark in the spring of 1867. The census taken at this time showed two hundred and sixty-four Indians in the band, and the amount of money distributed was \$5588.46. At their request Mr. Clark retained \$2000 of the money for the purchase of some land near the tract already owned by them. Their personal property consisted of three hundred and sixteen ponies worth about forty dollars each, but they were in great need. A second payment of annuities was made in November, 1867, at which time \$3588.91 was divided among two hundred and forty-seven Indians.

Leander Clark made his second annual report on September 2, 1868. At this time he reported two hundred and fifty-two Sacs and Foxes. There were in addition sixteen Pottawattamies who were not sharers in the annuities, and ten Foxes who belonged in Kansas. Although the relations between the Indians and whites were usually friendly, the tribe was unalterably opposed to education and Christianity.³⁹

When the third report was made in 1869 the number had

³⁹ From the Leander Clark Manuscripts in the Library of The State Historical Society of Iowa.

This salary of \$1500 a year was subject to a revenue tax of \$45, or five per cent on the income over \$600 a year.

For a brief biography of Leander Clark, see Ward's *History of Western-Leander Clark College, 1856-1911*, pp. 300-302.

increased to two hundred and sixty-two. They had recently purchased eighty acres more land, making a total of four hundred and nineteen acres, worth \$8900 according to Clark's estimate. At the time this report was submitted on July 10, 1869, Leander Clark was relieved of the office of special agent by Lieutenant Frank D. Garretty, who was assigned to this position in accordance with the plan recently adopted of employing army officers as Indian agents. Garretty's first report was dated September 25, 1869, and simply completed the report for the year. He reported that the Indians were at work as harvest hands and that he was agitating the subject of a school for the Indians.⁴⁰

Lieutenant Garretty remained only a little more than a year as special agent and on October 11, 1870, Leander Clark again took up the work. The following September he reported that his charges numbered three hundred and three, and their personal property amounted to \$13,215.⁴¹

On September 19, 1872, Rev. A. R. Howbert succeeded Leander Clark as special agent. He conducted religious services on Sundays, but declared that "what religious impressions are being made we must leave to future development to unfold." A small house serving for tool-house, shop, and office had been erected on the Indian lands, but no perceptible improvement had been made. Howbert served until the spring of 1875 when he was followed by Thomas S. Free.⁴²

The situation of these Indians was peculiar. Since they had no legal standing in law, they could not own property, so their land was held in trust for them by the Governor of

⁴⁰ *Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1869-1870*, pp. 890-893.

For a discussion of the purchase of the various tracts of land see *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. IV, pp. 179-189.

⁴¹ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1871*, pp. 515, 516.

⁴² *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1873*, pp. 182, 183; 1875, pp. 290, 291.

Iowa and the Indian agent. Unlike ordinary reservations this land was not the property of the general government, but was subject to State law, although there was some dispute on this point. In 1873 Agent Howbert wrote:

Some parties desire to cut a mill race through these lands. . . . The Indians are unwilling to have their lands cut up. The parties can force their way through of course by paying the damages. Allow me to say to you that I am here as U. S. agent to try to elevate these poor Indians. I have made a beginning and hope to succeed in the end but the work is difficult and must necessarily be slow. I commence with the children. Teach them to work and also to read and conduct religious services for their benefit. These Indians have never had any attention paid to them before and hence are very ignorant and degraded.⁴³

In the meantime Congress had taken up the matter. In 1873 a provision was added to the appropriation bill to the effect that the agent must live near enough to the Indians to educate them and instruct them in agriculture and mechanic arts. One year later \$1200 was appropriated for a school house, but only \$500 was appropriated for the agent's salary and even this was to be withheld "unless he lives near enough to the agency to teach and care for the tribe every day". This amount was raised to \$600 in 1877 and the next year was increased to \$1000.⁴⁴

Agent Thomas S. Free reported in August, 1876, that the school house was completed, and that school had begun the preceding November and closed temporarily on August 1st. The one teacher had also instructed the Indians in agriculture, but the habit of the Indians of leaving their homes during the winter months interfered with school work. Besides, many of the men were much opposed to any educa-

⁴³ Letter from A. R. Howbert May 6, 1873.—Archives of the Governor's Office, Historical Department, Des Moines, Iowa.

⁴⁴ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XVII, Ch. 138, p. 438; Vol. XVIII, Ch. 389, p. 147; Vol. XIX, Ch. 101, p. 271; Vol. XX, Ch. 142, p. 65.

tion. They were decided conservatives. The agent advocated that they be compelled to break up their land and to erect comfortable houses.⁴⁵ Probably for this reason he was not very popular with his charges, who wrote to Governor Carpenter complaining of his actions. Governor Carpenter apparently wrote for information to a banker at Tama, for he received a letter from G. H. Warren dated September 8, 1875, which ended as follows:

In my opinion they have no just grounds for complaints. Mr. Free, the Agent, is [a] gentleman of the strictest good character & integrity & has only displeased the Indians in carrying out explicit instructions from the department at Washington.

I have seen his orders and am convinced that he allows the Indians the most liberal construction which can be put on them.⁴⁶

In 1877 Agent Free reported that the Indians had purchased two hundred and seventy-three additional acres of land, making six hundred and ninety-two acres in all. He advocated the division of this land among the families, and the substitution of agriculture for raising ponies and hunting as a means of earning a living. The following year he reported that the school house was kept open, but no regular attendance was maintained. The head men were still enemies to any education and only desired to purchase more land.⁴⁷

The great question of dispute at this time was the refusal of the Indians to give the names of the members of their families as a basis for distributing the annuities. Formerly only the heads of families were enrolled and the Indians were suspicious of any change. Rather than comply, they sacrificed their annuities.

⁴⁵ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1876, pp. 59, 60.

⁴⁶ From a letter from G. H. Warren to Governor Carpenter, in the Archives of the Governor's Office, Historical Department, Des Moines, Iowa.

⁴⁷ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1877, pp. 113, 114; 1878, pp. 70-72.

In 1878 George L. Davenport⁴⁸ was appointed agent, but for a while he had no better success in persuading the Indians to permit the enrollment of the women and children. The Indians wrote to Governor Sherman, who in turn wrote to Mr. Davenport for a report of the situation. Part of the agent's answer of June 14, 1882, is as follows:

My instructions from the Department require me to obtain every name of all the tribe on the pay roll so as to divide their money per capita, and I have obtained all the names except about thirty who refuse to me the names of themselves and children and refuse to permit the chiefs and counselors to furnish me with them. They are obstinate and say they do not want their money.

I have explained very fully to them what my instructions are and that I am obliged to follow them strictly and that I have no discretion in the matter.

These few individuals refusing to give their names, prevent the others from getting their money. They also refuse to pay their taxes on their lands. They have been told by white people that Indians do not pay taxes on their reservations and thus do a great deal of harm and interfere with the advice given them by their agent, who knows their true situation. These Indians came here and purchased their lands, the same as any other person and of course, have to pay their share of tax in proportion to the number of acres they own. The title of their lands is in the Governor in trust for the tribe. Their land has been sold for tax and the time of redemption will expire on the 1st of Oct next and I have so reported to the Department.

You will confer a great favor on the Indians and the agent, if you will tell this delegation, that they must pay the tax on their land as it becomes due and to give their names to the agent so that the payment may be made, and then they will have money to redeem their lands from the tax sale.

The head rulers and counsel men who control the tribe, are intensely Indian and are opposed to any advancement in the way of civilization, opposed to schools and to the men working like white men, they prefer for the women to do the farming.

I have been here as their agent for three years. I talk their lan-

⁴⁸ Fulton's *The Red Men of Iowa*, p. 438.

guage well and am able to explain everything to them, and I have spared no pains to improve their condition while here. I find many of them very good people orderly and well behaved. A few are obstinate and head strong hard to do anything with, and they are the ones that are making the present trouble.

In connection with this letter the following communication is of interest:

Montour, Tama Co. Iowa, April 29, 1882

GOVERNOR SHERMAN,

Dear Sir.

You can write to me anything you want to tell the Indians, and send the letter to me at Montour Tama County Iowa. Please tell me all about the Indian affairs, so I can tell them.

My name is

SHOWON

Interpreter.

Iowa Agency.

A note on the manuscript states that this man was the person accused by Agent Davenport of stirring up the trouble over annuities.

Hiram Price, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, wrote to the agent that the taxes must be paid.⁴⁹ Finally, the Indians submitted and on January, 1882, the sum of \$20,000 was paid to them, the largest amount that could be sent to the agent under his bond, and in the following August \$20,000 additional was paid to them. Out of this amount they paid the back taxes and by September 1, 1882, had only \$3000 left, which they planned to use in buying more

⁴⁹ Letter of George L. Davenport to Governor Sherman, June 14, 1882, in the Archives of the Governor's Office, Historical Department, Des Moines, Iowa.

Commissioner Price, on June 12, 1882, wrote the following letter to Mr. Davenport, the agent:

"I have to advise you that the lands in question being situated outside of a reservation and purchased by the Indians of white people, are held by the same terms as lands owned by white people, and are subject to taxation as are other lands. This Office can do nothing in the matter except to instruct you to again inform the owners of these lands of the facts, and urge them to make payment of the taxes."

land. At the time of the agent's report in 1882 there were three hundred and fifty Indians in the group. The school was a failure, the agent reported, for the Indians told the children that if they attended school they would be taken away from their homes and made soldiers. The school building was occupied by the agent and employees.⁵⁰

In 1883, the "Fox or Musquakie" Indians used \$13,000 of their annuity funds to purchase three hundred and sixty-five additional acres of land, making 1340 acres in the midst of a prosperous white settlement. In addition to this the agent reported that individual Indians owned eighty-five acres, making 1425 acres in all, of which two hundred and fifteen acres were under cultivation. The school, which had been suspended, was reopened in May with two young women teachers, sent by the Ladies Home Missionary Society of Iowa, but the attendance was small.⁵¹

The annual report for 1885 was made by a new agent, O. H. Mills. The Indians were again in arrears with their taxes. Mr. Mills appears to have served only one year, for in the following year William H. Black, of Montour, Iowa, was reported as agent at this place.⁵²

The position was not an easy one. The Indians complained to the Commissioner, to the Governor, and to any white sympathizers they could find. Commissioner I. D. C. Atkins wrote to Governor Larrabee on February 15, 1887, that they had sent their complaint to Washington. They would not be instructed by a farmer, nor accept agricultural tools, nor permit their children to attend school, nor allow their funds to be used to pay a physician or an interpreter, yet when the government employed an interpreter they accused him of being unfair.

⁵⁰ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1882, pp. xxxii, 90-92.

⁵¹ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1883, pp. 90, 91.

The teachers were Miss Allie B. Busby and Miss Anna Skea.

⁵² *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1885, pp. 108-110; 1886, p. 462.

William H. Black served about two years and in May, 1888, the agent was Enos Gheen of Tama City. The difficulty at this time was the division of annuities between the 513 Sacs and Foxes living in the Indian Territory and the 317 members of the same tribes who had returned to Iowa contrary to the treaty. The entire amount due these Indians was \$51,000, of which \$11,500 was for the support of the general tribal government, schools, and a physician. This latter sum had always been paid to that part of the Sacs and Foxes in the Indian Territory for they were recognized as the legal representatives of the tribes, leaving only \$15,086.16 for those at Tama. In this same letter, the Commissioner wrote to Governor Larrabee that he intended to appoint a new agent. "They have not had a good agent for some time," he said, "which partially accounts for their restless and dissatisfied condition, and has been the cause of some irregularity in the dates of paying their annuity."⁵³

The Indians in Iowa insisted that they had a right to a share in the \$11,500 paid to the government of the tribe in the Indian Territory, but it was not until 1907 that a decision was handed down giving the Indians in Iowa a share in the annuities paid to the tribe as a whole. The money awarded them, amounting to \$38,803.93, was placed on deposit at Washington at five percent interest. The next year Congress voted \$5000 for the purpose of clearing the land belonging to the Indians and set aside \$24,000 of the trust funds for the purpose of buying more land. The Indians demanded the principal, but the agent, O. J. Green, objected, declaring that it would do the Indians as much good to throw nine-tenths of it into the Iowa River.⁵⁴

⁵³ Letter of I. D. C. Atkins to Governor Larrabee, February 24, 1888, in the Archives of the Governor's Office, Historical Department, Des Moines, Iowa.

Enos Gheen was appointed between February 24 and May 31, 1888.

⁵⁴ Kappler's *Indian Affairs*, Vol. III, pp. 304, 327; letters relative to Indian Affairs, Archives Division, Historical Department, Des Moines, Iowa.

O. J. Green had been appointed superintendent and agent at the Sac and Fox Agency on October 1, 1907.

In his report for 1889 Mr. Gheen gave a detailed account of the agency. It was located three miles west of Tama City, five miles southwest of Toledo, and fifteen miles east of Marshalltown. The summer houses were made of board frames, covered with bark, the winter quarters of poles bent over to form rafters and covered with matting.⁵⁵

Agents, however, did not remain long at the Tama reservation. On June 5, 1890, W. R. Lesser took charge of the agency. He had had twenty years experience among the Indians and declared that he did not intend to "romance or to make the Department think I am 'doing a great work' among these people". He reported that no school was in operation. A Mr. Batty, a Quaker, had attempted to organize one in 1889, but had given up in January, 1890, not "through any fault of his, but because he was handicapped by the agent, who desired his removal that he might nominate his wife for the position". Mr. Lesser advocated compulsory civilization or at least compulsory education, but he did not advise the establishment of a "court of Indian offenses", for he believed the agent should be the judge. He declared that the former policy had been as inconsistent as it would be to put a herd of wild horses in a corral with saddles, wagon, and harness and expect them to become saddle-horses and driving-horses. He reported the number of Indians as three hundred and ninety-nine.⁵⁶

Wallace R. Lesser served as Indian agent for over four years, his successor taking up the work on October 1, 1894. During his term of office conditions on the reservation changed very little, although as in the case of nearly all agents, his reports were usually optimistic. The Indians purchased an additional 1700 acres of land in 1892, using for this purpose a portion of the \$30,000 paid to them as

⁵⁵ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1889, pp. 213-216.

⁵⁶ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1890, pp. 103-106.

their share in the sale of the Sac and Fox lands in Oklahoma. The agent reported that the government building originally intended as a school house was occupied by the agency farmer, Mr. Cory, and was used as a council house. John McIntosh, the interpreter, had a frame house, as did also Joseph Tesson, a former interpreter, and Peter Soldier, a progressive Indian. In his report for 1893 Lesser declared that there had been no school when he assumed charge, and there "was a 'standing order' among the Indians that none of the children should go to the school-house." He had organized a school but it was located at the Presbyterian mission two and one-half miles from the Indian village instead of in the government school house. Only ten pupils were reported by the teacher, Mr. W. S. Stoops. Two of the pupils that year had committed suicide, and the teacher said that this occurrence "had a bad effect on the school, though educational matters were in no way connected with their rash act." The religious work at the agency was done by Miss Anna Skea, a Presbyterian missionary.⁵⁷

Mr. Lesser's opinion of his work among the Indians is given in his final report, dated August 25, 1894. After describing conditions at the agency and expressing disappointment that a drought had ruined the crops, he added that he had served nearly four years and a half and "might have remained longer had he not been a Republican, and a worthy Democrat desired the place. But that is the political part of the Indian question, and I have no complaint. During these four years I have done the hardest work of my life — much of it being labor that does not show on the surface, a fact which leads many people to suppose that the office is a 'snap;' but such an impression is erroneous. It had been

⁵⁷ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1892, pp. 264, 267; 1893, pp. 152-155.

the song here among former agents that 'nothing could be done in a progressive way with these Indians.' . . . I went among the people, associated with them, found out their wants and grievances, gave heed to requests, advised them, urged them, pushed them along as best I could, protected them from the 'bad' whites, both in a business and moral sense, stopped all liquor selling that I could get at, prevented the whites from going to the reservation to run horses, gamble, and drink whisky, especially on Sunday, and looked after their affairs generally. In fact, I endeavored to do the work for which I was paid instead of attending to private affairs and allowing the Indians to get along as best they could. No, I did not neglect to draw the salary, neither did I forget to give value received for the same."⁵⁸

The Democratic agent who took Mr. Lesser's place was Horace M. Rebok. He reported that the Indians were greatly in debt, owing more than twice the amount of their annuity. Their land, 2800 acres in all, lay on both sides of the Iowa River. The taxes on this land amounted to \$702.19, but their personal property was not assessed. One farm of five hundred and twenty acres had been rented to a white man in 1892 for five years for \$740 a year. Another farm of 187 acres had been rented in 1894 for \$400 a year.⁵⁹

This leasing of the Indian lands created a great deal of dissension. Horace M. Rebok believed that the rent should have been \$1120 or \$1250. Besides, in Attorney-General Remley's opinion the agent had no right to lease the lands at all, for most of them were held in trust by the Governor of Iowa and the United States had no control over them. The matter was finally adjusted by a compromise whereby the rent was increased.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1894, p. 147.

⁵⁹ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1895, p. 165.

⁶⁰ Letters of Milton Remley, November 25, 1895, and Horace M. Rebok, September 29, 1896, in the Archives of the Governor's Office, Historical Department, Des Moines, Iowa.

Another matter which attracted much attention was the question of Indian education. The Sacs and Foxes had again and again refused to permit their children to attend the agency or mission schools. In the appropriation act of 1894 Congress included \$5000 for the erection and maintenance of a school at this agency, but when the agent, Mr. Wallace R. Lesser, presented plans and estimates for a school house in May, 1894, the Indian Department at Washington rejected them and asked his successor, Horace M. Rebok, to make new plans requiring less than \$3000. The Indians, however, objected so strongly that the Department let the matter drop and permitted the \$5000 to be returned to the United States treasury. When it became evident that nothing could be done under existing circumstances, some philanthropic citizens in the spring of 1895 decided to organize an association to arouse interest in these primitive people left stranded in the midst of civilization. Dr. Charles A. Eastman, a prominent Indian, gave the opening address and the Indian Rights Association of Iowa was formed with Dr. S. N. Fellows as president and Judge J. R. Caldwell as secretary. The association at once began a campaign for the establishment of an industrial boarding school for Indian children and, in order to facilitate the carrying out of their plan, they advocated some change in the supervision over the Indians. Indeed, it had long been evident that the situation of these Indians was incompatible with the administration of law. As wards of the United States government the Indians were largely exempt from general State laws, although they were compelled to pay taxes on their property. On the other hand, the general government could not enforce its regulations, since the Indians owned the land and sometimes ordered the agent off the premises.⁶¹

⁶¹ *History of the Indian Rights Association of Iowa and the Founding of the Indian Training School*, pp. 6, 8, 9, 10, 22, 25, 26.

Partly as a result of this difficulty, a change was made in the method of holding the lands. On February 14, 1896, the Iowa legislature transferred the legal title to the Indians' lands to the United States government, subject to the right of eminent domain, taxation, and judicial jurisdiction.⁶² Congress on June 10, 1896, accepted the transfer and authorized the Secretary of the Interior and his successors in office to assume the position of trustee, formerly held by the Indian agent and Governor of Iowa.⁶³ The transfer, however, was not completed until 1908. On March 25th of that year O. J. Green, the superintendent and agent, formally transferred the land for which he was guardian to the Secretary of the Interior to be held in trust for the Indians, and on July 3rd a similar transfer was made by the Governor. One difficulty at this time was the question of the ownership of the land first bought. The five members of the council had transacted the business in their own names and it was not clear whether the land belonged to them as individuals or to the tribe. It was finally decided in 1898, that the title was vested in the tribe as a whole.⁶⁴

The act of the Iowa legislature of February 14, 1896, it was held, exempted the lands of the Indians from school, pauper, soldiers' relief, insane, and State University taxes, so that the agent reported in 1897 that their taxes had been reduced from \$554.29 in 1896 to \$286.21 in 1897.⁶⁵

In conformity with the general policy of emphasizing education, a new boarding school was provided for by an act of

⁶² *Laws of Iowa*, 1896, Ch. 110, pp. 114, 115.

⁶³ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XXIX, p. 331.

⁶⁴ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1908, pp. 84, 85; letter of O. J. Green, in *Indian Affairs*, Archives Division, Historical Department, Des Moines, Iowa.

⁶⁵ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1897, p. 147; 1898, p. 168. This contest over the ownership of the land was merely a part of the struggle against any recognition of the right of the government to educate or control the Indians.

Congress, and \$35,000 was appropriated for this purpose. Seventy acres of land adjoining Toledo, Iowa, were purchased and by September, 1899, the school was ready to receive pupils. But in spite of the efforts of the agent and superintendent the Indians refused to permit their children to attend, even refusing to receive their annuities because they had been told that this gave the government the right to place their children in school. One of the chiefs was willing for the agent to send his daughter to jail, but was very angry when the agent put her in the school. By much effort fifty pupils were finally enrolled, but the opposition of the Indians to education was apparently unshaken. One old chief declared to the agent: "You may come and kill us, but we will not give you our children."⁶⁶

On January 28, 1899, Mr. Rebok was succeeded by William G. Malin. Almost immediately the new agent met with opposition because of his efforts to compel two Indian girls who had run away from school to return. Superintendent George W. Nellis and James Poweshiek, the captain of the Indian police force, found the girls and returned them to the school, but the combined efforts of the agent, superintendent of the school, G. H. Tibbetts, the Indian farmer, and the Indian police force failed to arrest the Indian who was responsible for the kidnapping of the girls. The sheriff finally arrested the refractory Indian and the Deputy United States Marshal and a posse arrested seven of the rioters. Mr. Malin believed that this opposition had been encouraged by a Mr. E. I. Wilcox of Montour, Iowa, who had recently visited Washington with a party of Indians.⁶⁷

The Indians, at the instigation of some white men, next instituted habeas corpus proceedings for the possession of an Indian girl who had been placed in the school by Agent

⁶⁶ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1899, Part I, pp. 201-203.

⁶⁷ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1899, Part I, pp. 199, 200.

Malin, who had been appointed her guardian. The Indians claimed that the girl was married, and furthermore, that there was no law by which Indian children could be compelled to attend school, since they did not live on a reservation, and that the State court had exceeded its jurisdiction in appointing Mr. Malin as the girl's guardian. Moreover, a law of 1895 had prohibited the removal of Indian children from a reservation against the consent of their parents. The case was tried by Judge O. P. Shiras at Dubuque and was decided in favor of the Indian claims. This left the agent and school superintendent practically without legal authority, and the average attendance at the school dropped from forty-four and seven-tenths to twenty and four-tenths. An attempt was made to secure the passage of a law in 1908 giving the agent power in this respect, but it failed.⁶⁸

Another difficulty which confronted the new agent was an epidemic of small-pox in 1901-1902. The local authorities established a strict quarantine, and the Indians remained on their own lands, but refused medical attendance and especially disinfection. Again Mr. E. I. Wilcox appeared as the champion of the Indians, charging that the agent and his friends were keeping the Indians shut up, that they might charge exorbitant prices for supplies of flour and potatoes. Agent Malin believed that only a company of militia would be able to compel the Indians to submit to disinfection, but Dr. A. M. Linn of the Board of Health finally accomplished it. The Indians were not the only opposition which Dr. Linn encountered, however, for the members of the local board of health objected to his work, because he had not properly considered them and because he belonged to the homeopathic school.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1900, Part I, pp. 249, 251; *House Executive Documents*, 2nd Session, 60th Congress, Vol. 147, No. 1302, pp. 1, 2.

⁶⁹ Letters relative to Indian Affairs, Archives Division, Historical Department, Des Moines, Iowa.

During this period, the State furnished over \$8000 for provisions and clothing, the agent assisting in the distribution. The number of Indians reported by the agent in 1902 was three hundred and thirty-eight, a decrease of forty from the preceding year.⁷⁰

In August, 1904, a change was made in the title of the agent. Because of the emphasis placed on education the position of agent and that of the superintendent of the school were combined, and henceforth, the officer in charge was known as the Superintendent and Special Disbursing Agent.⁷¹

On October 1, 1907, Mr. Orville J. Green succeeded Mr. Malin as agent of the Iowa Sac and Fox Indians. He found the position rather difficult, for the unsettled questions of land transfer, education, and annuities caused dissatisfaction among the Indians. In 1908 he wrote: "I am trying to do my best for these Indians in every way as I am able to see my duty and the good of the Indians, but I do not even hope that my actions will always meet with their approval."⁷²

One of the discouraging features of the work at this place appears to have been the educational problem. The expensive boarding school, about three miles from the Indians' lands had a capacity of about eighty children. In 1908 there were eleven employees and only fifty-eight pupils. There were at this time three hundred and sixty-six Indians on the reservation, but they did not approve of the white man's education. The report for the school year ending June 30, 1912, gave eighty-two children eligible for school attend-

⁷⁰ *Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior, 1902; Indian Affairs, Part I, pp. 212-216; Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior, 1901, Indian Affairs, Part I, p. 241.*

⁷¹ *House Executive Documents, 3rd Session, 58th Congress, Vol. XIX, p. 211.*

⁷² *Indian Affairs, Archives Division, Historical Department, Des Moines, Iowa.*

ance. Eight of these were in a non-reservation boarding school, fifty-one in an Indian day school and two in the public school.⁷³ The boarding school as such was discontinued at the close of the school year in June, 1911, and since 1912 has been maintained as a sanatorium for tubercular Indians under twenty-one years of age. In 1914 this institution reported a capacity of seventy-nine patients and an attendance of fifty.⁷⁴ Two day schools are maintained on the reservation, each with an enrollment of about thirty children, but a much smaller average attendance. A noon-day lunch is furnished these children at the school.⁷⁵

Dr. Robert L. Russell, who was appointed superintendent in October, 1913, reported in November, 1915, that the Indians under his charge received from the government of the United States about \$18,000 as annuities. They were also furnished free medical attendance and the services of an expert farmer. Only about twenty-five percent of the Musquakies are still living in the wickiups — most of them having board houses in which they live during the summer.⁷⁶

This remnant of the primitive race now dwells at peace in the midst of prosperous farms, expensive schools, and all the other institutions of civilization. The United States government, through the superintendent, acts as the guardian of their lands, provides for the education of their children, instructs them along industrial lines, and cares for their sick. They numbered three hundred and sixty-eight in 1914, and owned 3890 acres of land which, unlike

⁷³ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1908, pp. 170, 171; 1912, p. 184.

In 1908 the sum of \$15,160 was appropriated by Congress.— *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XXXV, Part 1, pp. 79, 80.

⁷⁴ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1911, p. 174; 1912, p. 198; 1913, p. 19; 1914, p. 139.

⁷⁵ Letter of Dr. Robert L. Russell to the writer, November 8, 1915.

⁷⁶ Letter of Dr. Robert L. Russell to the writer, November 8, 1915.

most Indian reservations, had been purchased according to the white man's laws. This land is partly cultivated and partly grazing. Fifty of the ninety-three able-bodied male adults were engaged in farming and cultivated about a thousand acres, so that there has been a great advancement in this respect.⁷⁷

There have been several suggestions that this land held in common should be allotted. In 1910 Robert G. Valentine, then Commissioner of Indian Affairs, made this statement concerning them:

The first step toward settling the affairs of these Indians should unquestionably be the allotment of their lands. But there are serious difficulties in the way. Although the legal title of the lands is in the Secretary of the Interior as trustee, the lands were bought by the Indians with their own funds and belong to them. For that reason I do not believe it would be right to make any change in the present status of the lands without first gaining the consent of the Indians. Their attitude upon the question of allotment has been one of persistent opposition, and at the present time there is no likelihood of obtaining their consent to the breaking up of tribal ownership. Their tract of land is not large, and if prorated among the members of the tribe would give to each man only about 10 acres. Such a small holding would not be adequate for the support of these ignorant and nonprogressive Indians.⁷⁸

The Iowa Sacs and Foxes, therefore, remain an extraneous body in the State. They are tax-payers, but can not become citizens until they give up their tribal relations and this they steadfastly refuse to do. In the long struggle they have waged for their own preservation in their old hunting-grounds, they have secured themselves from interference by their strict adherence to the laws of the State. That the attitude of the Iowa legislature toward them has been lenient is largely due to the care they have used to

⁷⁷ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1914, pp. 105, 110.

⁷⁸ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1910, p. 52.

secure the approval of those in authority before taking any step. The difficulties of the superintendents in charge, however, have been numerous and much credit is due to the patient efforts they have made to improve the conditions of their wards.

And so the past lives in the midst of the present, reminding the citizens of Iowa that three-quarters of a century ago the aboriginal inhabitants roamed over the prairies or gathered temporarily in their villages by the rivers. The old agency centers have been long deserted or have been occupied by thriving towns where little remains to suggest the tragedy which resulted when one race took the inheritance of another. The work of these men who lived among the Sacs, Foxes, Winnebagoes, and Pottawattamies as the representatives of the United States government has been almost forgotten. Their hardships, heroism, and mistakes have been for the most part buried with them. They were but parts of the transition from the old to the new, yet the study of their work is interesting for three reasons. It gives a glimpse of the frontier with its ragged edge out, as it always was, towards the Indians. It gives also a picture of the home and community life of the natives as they were at that time. And finally, it portrays the work of the government among the Indians — its inconsistency, and injustice, as well as its generosity. In spite of disorganization and lack of support most of the agents in Iowa served faithfully and if they failed it was because their task was impossible. They belonged to the pioneers and indeed served as the advance guard of civilization. Their agencies were its outposts and the history of the conquest of the Iowa country may be read in the accounts of the Indian agents.

RUTH A. GALLAHER

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA
IOWA CITY IOWA

SOME PUBLICATIONS

The New Regime 1765-1767 (Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. XI, British Series, Vol. II). Edited with introduction and notes by CLARENCE WALWORTH ALVORD and CLARENCE EDWIN CARTER. Springfield: Illinois State Historical Library. 1916. Pp. xxviii, 700. Portraits, plates, map. The documents printed in this volume cover the period from February 28, 1765, to July 15, 1767, and deal with the policies and problems of the British in establishing their control over the Illinois country. For purposes of convenience the documents are divided into ten chapters, the contents of which are indicated by the titles: George Croghan's journals, occupation of Fort Chartres, the completion of the occupation, plans for a colony, conflicting plans, the rendezvous at the Illinois, the trade and colonial plans progress, a chapter of opinions, the value of the Illinois country, and discussion of the Indian trade. A comprehensive index offers ready access to the material in the volume.

Those who are acquainted with the high standard maintained in the previous volumes of the *Collections* need not be told that the editorial work performed on this volume by Professors Alvord and Carter is thorough and scholarly. No one interested in the history of British control in the West can afford to overlook this book containing letters and documents of vital importance which have hitherto been inaccessible to the average person.

Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association for the Year 1914-15. Edited by MILO M. QUAIFFE. Cedar Rapids: The Torch Press. 1916. Pp. 361. This volume contains the papers read at the mid-winter meeting of the Association in Chicago in December, 1914, and at the annual meeting in New Orleans in April, 1915. The proceedings of the eighth annual meeting, the report of the secretary-treasurer, and the report of the committee

on the establishment of departments of State history in State universities occupy about seventy-five pages at the front of the volume.

In the first paper William J. Trimble points out in an interesting manner the possibilities of *The Agrarian History of the United States as a Subject for Research*. A brief discussion of *The Indian Policy of Bernardo de Galvez* is presented by Elizabeth Howard West. *The Attitude of the Newspapers of the United States towards Texan Independence* is indicated by J. E. Winston. Under the heading *The New Invasion of the Goths and Vandals* Isaac Joslin Cox furnishes an entertaining narrative of the advance of American frontiersmen into the Mississippi Valley during the period of Spanish control. The paper which touches Iowa history most closely is one by George B. Merrick on *Joseph Reynolds and the Diamond Jo Line of Steamers, 1862-1911*. It would be difficult to estimate the importance of this steamboat line in the history of the cities along the eastern border of Iowa—especially Dubuque. A paper by William O. Scroggs presents a picture of *Rural Life in the Lower Mississippi Valley about 1803*. A majority of the remaining papers in the volume deal with various phases of the history of the South.

Grace Gardner Griffin's bibliography of *Writings on American History, 1914*, has appeared from the Yale University Press.

The George Banta Publishing Company of Menasha, Wisconsin, has brought out a volume of nearly three hundred pages by Dice Robins Anderson on *William Branch Giles: A Study in the Politics of Virginia and the Nation from 1790 to 1830*.

A two-volume biography of *Leonidas Polk: Bishop and General*, written by William M. Polk, has been published by Longmans, Green, and Company.

Among the monographs which have recently appeared in the *Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law* published by Columbia University are the following: *State Regulation of Railroads in the South*, by Maxwell Ferguson; *Railway Monopoly and Rate Regulation*, by Robert James McFall; and *The Butter Industry in the United States*, by Edward Wiest.

The Bureau of the Census at Washington has published a valuable study of *The Federal Registration Service of the United States: Its Development, Problems, and Defects*, by Cressy L. Wilbur.

The American Navy as a Line of Defence is the subject discussed by Fred T. Jane in the opening pages of *The Military Historian and Economist* for July. Charles J. Bullock discusses *Adam Smith's Views upon National Defence*. Carl R. Fish is the writer of an interesting description of *The Raising of the Wisconsin Volunteers, 1861*. There is the concluding chapter of Willey Howell's study of *Lieutenant-General Grant's Campaign of 1864-65*; and finally, A. L. Conger presents a statement of *Moltke's Plans of Campaign*.

Mabel Thacher Rosemary Washburn is the writer of an article on *Washington's Old World Ancestry* which appears in the opening pages of the April-June number of *The Journal of American History*. There is an address by Elihu Root on the question *Should International Law be Codified?* An interesting paper by Emilius O. Randall on *The Mound Builders of Ohio* is embellished with a large number of illustrations pertinent to that subject as well as to various phases of the early history of Ohio. Andrew M. Sherman writes on *The Revolutionary Camping-Grounds of the Connecticut Brigades in Morris County, New Jersey, the Winter of 1779-80*; and there is a short discussion of *George Rogers Clark and his Little Army in the Enemy's Country*, by Charles Gilmer Gray.

Preparedness and America's International Program is the central topic of discussion in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* for July. The various papers are grouped into three parts devoted to the basis of a durable peace and the safeguards against future international conflicts, the program for which the United States shall stand in international relations, and the effect of a large military and naval establishment on our domestic institutions and policy. *New Possibilities in Education* is the general subject of the September number. Points of emphasis in the curriculum and organization of the modern school, the continuing readjustment of the school curriculum and organization, and the extension of opportunities for adult education are the headings of the three parts.

Harold J. Laski discusses *The Political Theory of the Disruption* in the opening pages of *The American Political Science Review* for August. Charles H. Cunningham writes on the *Origin of the Friar Lands Question in the Philippines*. A paper entitled *Presidential Special Agents in Diplomacy* is the work of Henry Merritt Wriston. Other articles are: *Problems of Percentages in Direct Government*, by C. O. Gardner; *Proper Safeguards for the Initiative and Referendum Petition*, by W. A. Schnader; *Recent Experience with the Initiative and Referendum*, by Robert E. Cushman; and *Safeguarding the Petition in the Initiative and the Referendum*, by F. W. Coker. The *Legislative Notes and Reviews*, conducted by John A. Lapp, deal with legislative investigations, new administrative agencies, public health administration, codification, and reforms in legal systems.

Catharine C. Cleveland is the author of a doctoral dissertation on *The Great Revival in the West, 1797-1805*, which has been published by the University of Chicago and sells for one dollar, postage extra. A short introduction is written by Professor William E. Dodd. The first chapter describes the religious condition of the West prior to 1800. In chapter two, dealing with the revival leaders and their teachings and methods, mention is made of such frontier preachers as James McGready, John and William McGee, William Hodge, Barton W. Stone, John Rankin, Robert Marshall, William Burke, William McKendree, Louis and Elijah Craig, John Taylor, Ambrose Dudley, Moses Bledsoe, and William Hickman. The spread of the revival and its culmination, and the remarkable emotional phenomena of the revival are discussed in chapters three and four; while the fifth and concluding chapter deals with the results of the revival. Several appendices containing contemporary material concerning the revival, and a bibliography of sources complete the volume. Miss Cleveland has produced a scholarly piece of work written in a very readable style.

Charles Scribner's Sons have put out a volume entitled *Presidential Nominations and Elections*, by Joseph Bucklin Bishop. The origin of the nominating conventions, the first national conventions, the first "dark horse", Clay's bitterness in defeat, Webster's long

and hopeless quest, Lincoln's two nominations and elections, the last Democratic convention before the Civil War, Blaine's fate, Cleveland's first nomination and campaign, Republican conventions between 1868 and 1908, the third-term convention, the two-thirds rule and its effects, the "steam roller" convention, the Progressive convention, the machinery of presidential elections, campaign methods and caricature, the genesis of American political caricature, cartoons of Lincoln's first campaign, weekly and daily journal cartoons, Washington's inaugurations, John Adams's gloomy entrance, the truth about Jeffersonian simplicity, inauguration clothes and customs, the Jackson invasion, the unique distinction of the Adams's, "Tippecanoe" and other inaugurations, Lincoln's first inauguration, and the results of national elections — these are the subjects discussed in the twenty-seven chapters of the book. Mr. Bishop's volume is popular rather than monographic in character and makes entertaining reading — while being at the same time a work of value to the student of political history. There are numerous illustrations which lend an added interest to the contents; and a satisfactory index is provided.

WESTERN AMERICANA

Journalism in California is the title of a large volume by John P. Young, which has been published by the Chronicle Publishing Company of San Francisco.

A discussion of *The Torrens Land Transfer Act of Nebraska*, by Thorne A. Browne, constitutes a recent number in the *Nebraska History and Political Science Series* published by the Nebraska Legislative Reference Bureau.

Besides the administrative report the *Twenty-ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* contains a lengthy study of *The Ethnogeography of the Tewa Indians*, by John Peabody Harrington. In the *Thirtieth Annual Report* will be found two monographs, namely: *Ethnobotany of the Zuni Indians*, by Matilda Coxe Stevenson; and *An Inquiry into the Animism and Folk-lore of the Guiana Indians*, by Walter E. Roth. This volume also contains

a list of publications of the Bureau of American Ethnology with an index to authors and titles.

Two monographs in the *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* published in June are the following: *Miwok Moieties*, by Edward Winslow Gifford; and *Arapaho Dialects*, by A. L. Kroeber.

The April-June number of *The American Indian Magazine*, published by the Society of American Indians, contains the following articles, among others: *What is the Matter with our Indians?*, by R. H. Pratt; *The Indian Health Problem*, by Charles A. Eastman; *Settle Tribal Claims*, by Thomas L. Sloan; *A Winnebago Question and a Tale of a Winnebago Hero*, by Louise Johnson Bear; and *An Analysis of the Indian Bureau*, by F. A. Cleveland. The editorials by Arthur C. Parker deal in a sane and logical manner with various problems connected with the status of the American Indians.

The Sense of the State, by George E. Vincent; and *Literature and History*, by John S. P. Tatlock, are two addresses which are printed in the July number of *The University of California Chronicle*.

Among the papers in *The Commonwealth Review of the University of Oregon* for April are the following: *Economic Purposes and Possibilities in State Administration in Oregon*, by F. G. Young; *Oregon's Affairs Administered Through the Office of Secretary of State*, by Ben W. Olcott; *The Need for a Consistent General State Policy as to Public Utilities*, by Clyde B. Aitchison; *Evolution of the Principles of Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation*, by William A. Marshall; and *Some Essentials for Improvement of the Tax System of Oregon*, by Charles V. Galloway.

Over fifty pages in the July number of *Old Santa Fe* are occupied with *The Journal of John Greiner*, with introduction and notes by Annie Heloise Abel. John Greiner as Indian agent in New Mexico in 1852 came into relations, not altogether pleasant, with Colonel Edwin V. Sumner, who at an earlier day was the commander of Fort Atkinson in northeastern Iowa. *A Protestant Missionary Bishop: Rt. Rev. George Kelly Dunlop* is the title of an article by

Estelle Bennett Twitchel. In a paper on *James Bridger: The Greatest Rocky Mountain Scout*, A. J. Shotwell relates some personal recollections. Among the editorial notes is an extended biographical sketch of the late Felix Martinez.

IOWANA

Extension Division Bulletin No. 13 published by the State University of Iowa contains a paper on *Employers' Welfare Work in Iowa*, by Paul S. Peirce.

Two articles among those which appear in *The American Freemason* for August are: *Is there a Political Possibility Consistent with Masonic Principles*, by Joseph E. Morecombe; and *John Arthur, Past Grand Master of Washington*.

The Alumnus of Iowa State College for June consists of a directory of alumni and ex-students.

Besides continuations of biographical and autobiographical material in the July number of the *Journal of History*, published at Lamoni, Iowa, by the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, there is the first installment of the *Autobiography of Levi Lamoni Wight*.

The Hebrew and his Heritage, by Frank B. Almond; *For Equal Suffrage*, by Mrs. D. J. Krahle; and *Against Equal Suffrage*, by E. G. Hammond, are articles in *Autumn Leaves* for August.

Among the many papers in the *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science for 1915* is a brief sketch of the life of *Dr. Charles Edwin Bessey*, by L. H. Pammel; and an article on *Early Iowa Locality Records*, by Bohumil Shimek, which involves a discussion of the place names in western Iowa found in the journals of early explorers of the Missouri River.

Probable Results of Legal Regulation, by R. B. Howell; and *First Proportional Representation Election*, by A. R. Hatton, are two papers in the July number of *American Municipalities*. In the September number will be found the following articles: *Experts in*

Valuation Cases, by Morris Llewellyn Cooke; *Municipal Bond Issues*, by Andrew Price; *Advantages of Preferential Voting*, by Lewis J. Johnson; and *Tax Maps for Assessors*, by Edward L. Heydecker.

Souvenir of the Diamond Jubilee of St. Mary's Church, Iowa City, Iowa, is the title of a volume of nearly two hundred pages containing a very creditable history of the church, written by Joseph Fuhrmann. Since Iowa City was one of the early towns of Iowa the histories of its various churches are important contributions to the religious history of the State.

The Department of Public Instruction has published and distributed an illustrated booklet of one hundred and sixty pages entitled *Iowa Day for the Public Schools of the State*, prepared by B. W. Hoadley. October 20th has been set apart for observance as "Iowa Day" in the schools. The booklet contains interesting information concerning the history, people, institutions, industries, products, resources, and scenic beauties of Iowa—the purpose being to give the children, and incidentally their parents, a knowledge of the State in which they live.

The papers read at the Waterloo meeting in November, 1915, are to be found in the *Proceedings of the Seventeenth Iowa State Conference of Charities and Correction*. Among the numerous papers are the following: *Making Social Work Effective*, by George B. Mangold; *The Common Sense of City Progress*, by Roger N. Baldwin; *Personal Recollections of the Care of the Insane Thirty-four Years Ago*, by Max E. Witte; *The Iowa Parole System, its Advantages and Defects*, by D. C. Mott; *A Community Social Program for Iowa Towns*, by Ada M. Palmer; *The Beginnings of the Juvenile Court in Iowa*, by Mrs. W. E. Holmes; and *The State Free Employment Bureau*, by A. L. Urick.

The Census of Iowa for the Year 1915, compiled and published under the direction of the Executive Council by A. U. Swan and Ora Williams, has been distributed. While it contains about one hundred and forty fewer pages than the volume for 1905, it is in many respects better adapted to ready use. The "Analysis and

Comparisons'' in part one are especially helpful to any one interested in the population, institutions, industries, and resources of Iowa. According to this enumeration the population of the State is 2,358,066, as compared with 2,224,771 in the federal census of 1910, and 2,210,050 in the State census of 1905. Public education is among the subjects receiving particular attention in this volume.

SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS BY IOWA AUTHORS

- Brisco, Norris A.,
Fundamentals of Salesmanship. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1916.
- Carver, Thomas Nixon,
New Pioneering (Delineator, May, 1916).
- Cooley, Edwin Gilbert,
Part-time School (School and Society, June 10, 1916).
- Fitch, George,
Petey Simmons at Siwash. Boston: Little Brown & Co. 1916.
- Flom, George Tobias,
The Main Manuscripts of Konungs Skuggsja. Urbana: University of Illinois. 1916.
- Gleason, Mrs. Helen Hayes,
Family in Belgium (Century, July, 1916).
- Harkness, Mary Leal,
Town that Cares: What the Spirit of the Middle West Means in one Iowa Town (Independent, July 10, 1916).
- Hough, Emerson,
The Magnificent Adventure. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1916.
- Heisey, Paul Harold,
Psychological Studies in Lutheranism. Burlington, Iowa: German Literary Board. 1916.
- Hueston, Ethel,
Prudence Says So. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co. 1916.
- Hughes, Rupert,
The Thirteenth Commandment. New York: Harper Bros. 1916.

King, Irving,

Social Training Through School Group Activities (Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, September, 1916); *Teach Current History!* (Outlook, June 21, 1916).

Lewis, Ervin Eugene,

General Science in Iowa High Schools (School Review, June, 1916); *Testing the Spelling Abilities of Iowa School Children by the Buckingham Spelling Tests* (Elementary School Journal, June, 1916).

Macbride, Thomas H.,

Culture and Women's Clubs. Iowa City: Privately printed. 1916.

Peirce, Paul S.,

Employers' Welfare Work in Iowa. Iowa City: The State University of Iowa. 1916.

Phillips, John Sanborn,

Alias David Grayson — A Tribute (Bookman, June, 1916).

Quaife, Milo Milton (Editor),

The Development of Chicago, 1674-1914, Shown in a Series of Contemporary Original Narratives. Chicago: The Caxton Club. 1916.

Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Vol. VIII. Cedar Rapids: The Torch Press. 1916.

Quick, John Herbert,

New Conscience in the Real Estate Business (World's Work, July, 1916).

Roberts, George Evan,

Business after the War. New York: The National City Bank of New York. 1916.

Schmidt, Louis Bernard,

American Economic History in Secondary Schools (Educational Review, June, 1916).

Starch, Daniel,

Educational Measurements. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1916.

Wickham, Henry Frederick,

New Fossil Coleoptera from the Florissant Beds. Iowa City:
The State University of Iowa. 1916.

SOME RECENT HISTORICAL ITEMS IN IOWA NEWSPAPERS

The Register and Leader

Sketch of the life of Howard Burrell — Pioneer Iowa Newspaperman, July 17, 1916.

Woman Suffrage in Iowa, August 6, 1916.

The Struggles of Penn College, August 13, 1916.

Collection of Prehistoric Relics Belonging to Dr. Daniel Sickler of Ogden, Iowa, August 13, 1916.

The Admission of Iowa, by William H. Fleming, August 15, 1916.

Sketch of the life of R. D. Minard of St. Charles, August 21, 1916.

First Train Into Des Moines, August 29, 1916.

Mrs. Kirkwood Observes Ninety-fifth Birthday, September 2, 1916.

Old Lincoln Home a Gift to the Nation, September 3, 1916.

The Story of how Washington, Iowa, Methodists Settled the Question of Music in their Church, by Josephine Babcock, September 3, 1916.

One of Four Coins Minted by C. S. A. Owned in Iowa, September 3, 1916.

Earliest Newspaper in Keosauqua, September 3, 1916.

How the Commercial Dairy Business of America Started in Iowa, September 8, 1916.

H. S. Cooper of Waukon Voted for James K. Polk, September 8, 1916.

Sketch of the life of Mrs. Grenville M. Dodge, September 8, 1916.

Trees in Iowa, by Bohumil Shimek, September 10, 1916.

An Iowa Interlude, by C. C. Pugh, September 10, 1916.

William Graham, a Dubuque Lawyer who has Practiced Sixty Years, September 12, 1916.

Mr. and Mrs. R. E. Ridley, First White Settlers in Emmet County, September 14, 1916.

Mexican Parley in Hands of Iowa Men, September 17, 1916.

Passing of the Stateliest Residence in Grinnell, September 24, 1916.

Miscellaneous

Sketch of the life of Col. G. A. Eberhart, in the *Des Moines Capital*, July 1, 1916.

Iowa in First Mexican War, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican*, July 3, 1916.

John Brown at Springdale, in the *Mason City Times*, July 4, 1916.

Early Farming in Iowa, in the *Des Moines Capital*, July 4, 1916.

Sketch of the life of Mrs. Euclid Sanders, in the *Iowa City Republican*, July 6, 1916.

Iowa Governors of Same Name Issue Call for Troops in 1846 and 1916, in the *Schaller Herald*, July 6, 1916.

Why We Went to War With Mexico in 1846, in the *Cedar Falls Record*, July 7, 1916.

Woman had Relatives in Three American Wars, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, July 9, 1916.

Sketch of the life of Alonzo Franklin, in the *Algona Republican*, July 12, 1916.

Sketch of the life of Joel Stroud, in the *Eldon Forum*, July 13, 1916.

The Amana Community, in the *Bloomfield Republican*, July 13, 1916.

Mr. and Mrs. W. T. Wadley, Early Settlers of Decatur County, in the *Lamoni Chronicle*, July 13, 1916.

Sketch of the life of Frederick Schack, in the *Waverly Independent*, July 20, 1916.

Back to the Civil War Days, in the *Clarinda Journal*, July 20, 1916.

Early Days of Tama County, by O. H. Mills, running in the *Traer Star-Clipper*, and the *Tama Herald*.

Previous Hot Summers in Iowa, in the *Waterloo Courier*, July 31, 1916.

Page County History, by Mabel H. Kenea, in the *Clarinda Journal*, August 3 and 31, 1916.

Sketch of the life of Allen A. Mason, in the *Albia Republican*, August 3, 1916.

Iowa in 1660 and Later, in the *Boone News-Republican*, August 5, 1916.

- Buffalo in Iowa, in the *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, August 6, 1916.
- Sketch of the life of James Fenlon, in the *Des Moines Capital*, August 7, 1916.
- J. R. Wooden, Centerville's Oldest Business Man, in the *Centerville Iowegian*, August 7, 1916.
- Country Cemetery Holds Remains of John Brown Raiders, in the *Des Moines Tribune*, August 8, 1916.
- Address of A. M. Antrobus at 77th Anniversary of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church at Pleasant Grove, in the *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, August 13, 1916.
- A Bit of War History, in the *Washington Journal*, August 15, 1916.
- Newhall's Map of Iowa, in the *Fort Madison Democrat*, August 18, 1916.
- William H. Fleming was Secretary to Seven Governors of Iowa, in the *Des Moines Tribune*, August 23, 1916.
- Sketches of the lives of Old Settlers of Van Buren County, in the *Keosauqua Republican*, August 24, 1916.
- Sketch of the life of Hon. Lemuel Dwelle, in the *Northwood Index*, August 24, 1916.
- Snow in June, Ice in July in 1816, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, August 28, 1916.
- Anniversary of the First Train Into Des Moines, in the *Madrid News*, August 31, 1916.
- The Amana Society, by Charles F. Noe, in the *Victor Record*, August 31, 1916.
- Sketch of the life of Mrs. Jane Kirkwood, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, September 1, 1916.
- Early Days and People of Maquoketa, in the *Maquoketa Sentinel*, September 1, 1916.
- Reminiscences of Early School Days, in the *Spirit Lake Beacon*, September 7, 1916.
- Early Days in Jackson County, in the *Sabula Gazette*, September 7, 1916.
- First Cream Separator in America in Grundy County, in the *Grundy Center Republican*, September 7, 1916.
- Sketch of the life of Christopher Wentz, in the *Belle Plaine Union*, September 7, 1916.

- Early History of Linn County, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, September 8, 1916.
- The Frontier Sketches, in the *Burlington Post*, September 9, 1916.
- Incidents in Early Days of the Madisonian, by Henry C. Wallace, in the *Winterset Madisonian*, September 13, 1916.
- A Prominent Pioneer Family — that of John A. Pitzer, by H. A. Mueller, in the *Winterset Madisonian*, September 13, 1916.
- The Days of Ox Teams, Blue Stem, and Indians, by Isaac Hoch, in the *Winterset Madisonian*, September 13, 1916.
- The First House in Winterset, in the *Winterset Madisonian*, September 13, 1916.
- Reminiscences of Pioneer Days in Madison County, by A. L. Tullis, in the *Winterset Madisonian*, September 13, 1916.
- Great Westward Migration and Other Incidents of Early Days, by M. Jane Smith, in the *Winterset Madisonian*, September 13, 1916.
- Model of Old B. C. R. & N. Locomotive, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, September 13, 1916.
- Reminiscences of Early Days in Wright County, in the *Clarion Monitor*, September 13, 1916.
- An Old Report of Black Hawk's Death, in the *Eldon Forum*, September 14, 1916.
- H. S. Cooper Voted for Polk Seventy-two Years Ago, in the *McGregor Times*, September 14, 1916.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

PUBLICATIONS

Legislative Reference Bulletin No. 3 published by the Department of History of South Dakota consists of a *History of the Initiative and Referendum in South Dakota*.

The most recently published volume of the *Prize Essays of the American Historical Association* is a monograph by Mary Wilhelmina Williams on *Anglo-American Isthmian Diplomacy, 1815-1915*, which was awarded the Justin Winsor Prize in 1914.

The Missouri Historical Review for July opens with a valuable study of *Missouri and the Santa Fe Trade*, by F. F. Stephens. David W. Eaton contributes another article in his series entitled *How Missouri Counties, Towns and Streams were Named*.

An interesting *Archaeological History of Milwaukee County*, by Charles E. Brown, occupies the July number of *The Wisconsin Archeologist*.

Chapters seven to ten, inclusive, of Charles G. Herbermann's study of *The Sulpicians in the United States* appear in volume nine of the *Historical Records and Studies* published by the United States Catholic Historical Society. A contribution of particular interest in the Middle West is a sketch of the life of *The Very Rev. Stephen Theodore Badin*, by W. J. Howlett.

The July number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* is taken up with a detailed, profusely illustrated account of the *Exploration of the Tremper Mound*, by William C. Mills.

N. C. Nelson is the writer of an article entitled *Chronology of the Tanó Ruins, New Mexico*, which occupies first place in the April-June number of the *American Anthropologist*. Other contributions are: *New Data on the Trenton Argillite Culture*, by Leslie

Spier; *The Application of Statistical Methods to the Data on the Trenton Argillite Culture*, by Clark Wissler; *A Few Zuni Death Beliefs and Practices*, by Elsie Clews Parsons; and *The Distribution of Man in Relation to the Invention of Fire-making Methods*, by Walter Hough.

An unsigned article entitled *Brief History of Frankfort Cemetery and Sketch of Judge Thomas James* occupies the opening pages in *The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* for September. Then follows the concluding installment of Bessie Conkwright's biography of *General Benjamin Logan*. George Baber is the writer of an article on *The Blairs*.

The *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* for September opens with an address by John H. Finley on *The Little Church Which I Knew Best*—no doubt referring to the church which he attended in his boyhood days in Illinois. Thomas Stacy Capers is the writer of a paper on *The Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies*.

The June and September numbers of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* both contain installments of the following documentary material: *Journal of a Voyage from Annapolis to Cherbourg in 1811*, written by David Bailie Warden; *Uria Brown's Journal*; and the *Journal of the Committee of Observation of the Middle District of Frederick County, Maryland*. In the September number there is a short note of appreciation of the late *Clayton Colman Hall, 1847-1916*.

A brief article on *Frederick Ward Putnam*, by Edward S. Morse; a continuation of the *Journal of Rev. Joshua Wingate Weeks, 1778-1779*; and a paper on *The Eastern Railroad: A Historical Account of Early Railroading in Eastern New England*, by Francis B. C. Bradlee, are among the contents of the *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute* for July.

Some *Extracts from the Unpublished Reminiscences of H. R. Kincaid* constitute the opening contribution in the June number of *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*. Fred Lockley is

the writer of a short article on *Some Documentary Records of Slavery in Oregon*. Of special interest is the first installment of the *Diary of Rev. Jason Lee*. Finally, there is another section of the *Correspondence of the Reverend Ezra Fisher*.

A study of the *Development of the City School System of Indiana—1851–1880*, by Harold Littell, is begun in the September number of the *Indiana Magazine of History*. Under the heading of *The Pioneers of Jefferson County* there are reminiscences of a number of early settlers. *Terre Haute in 1850* is the subject of a paper by John J. Schicher. Finally, there is an address by Merrill Moores entitled *Indiana in 1816*, which was delivered at the Corydon pageant on June 2, 1916.

A continuation of the *Journal of Rev. John Sharpe* occupies the opening pages of *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for July. Under the heading of *Letters of More than Local Interest* will be found some letters of George Washington, Anthony Wayne, and others scattered over the period from 1779 to 1825. Other manuscript contributions are *Selections from the Wallace Papers*; the *Report of Admiral Sir William Penn to the Naval Board, 1655*; and a letter written in 1789 by Edward Hand setting forth the advantages of *Lancaster, Penna., for Capital of the United States*.

The second and last installment of Clara M. Love's study of *The Cattle Industry of the Southwest* appears in the opening pages of *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* for July. Marion John Atwood is the writer of a monograph on *The Sources of the Mexican Acta Constitutiva*. A brief article on *The German Settlers of Millheim Before the Civil War* is contributed by Adalbert Regenbrecht. Two other articles are: *The Author of the Texas Homestead Exemption Law*, by A. E. Wilkinson; and *The Last Expedition of Josiah Gregg*, by Owen C. Coy. Finally, there is another installment of *British Correspondence Concerning Texas*, edited by Ephraim Douglass Adams.

Race Mixture in the Roman Empire is the subject of an article by Tenney Frank, which opens *The American Historical Review* for

July. David Jayne Hill contributes *A Missing Chapter of Franco-American History* in which new light is thrown on the influence of American ideas on the French Revolution. Archer B. Hulbert is the writer of an interesting paper on *Western Ship-building* which indicates, among other things, the importance of a study of the records of the ports of entry on the inland waters of the country. The concluding article is one by C. C. Pearson on *The Readjuster Movement in Virginia*. The documents printed in this number consist of letters from the archives in Seville relative to *The Commencement of the Cane Sugar Industry in America, 1519-1538 (1563)*, contributed by Irene A. Wright. The letters are all in Spanish.

A number of interesting papers are to be found in the *Transactions of the Illinois Historical Society for the Year 1915*. John W. Cook presents a sketch of the *Life and Labors of Hon. Adlai Ewing Stevenson*. Miss Lotte E. Jones relates *A Group of Stories of the American Indians*. In some *Reminiscences of Yellow Banks*, by James W. Gordon, there is considerable data concerning S. S. Phelps and his brother William, both of whom spent several years as traders among the Sac and Fox Indians in the Iowa country. Other papers are *Jesse W. Fell*, by Frances Morehouse; *The Story of the Banker-Farmer Movement Originating with the Illinois Bankers' Association*, by B. F. Harris; *Indian Treaties Affecting Lands in the Present State of Illinois*, by Frank R. Grover; and *General James Shields of Illinois*, by Francis O'Shaughnessy. There are also several entertaining papers dealing with the history of Quincy, Illinois.

W. D. Lyman presents *Some Observations upon the Negative Testimony and the General Spirit and Methods of Bourne and Marshall in Dealing with the Whitman Question* in the April number of *The Washington Historical Quarterly*. His criticisms apply chiefly to Marshall's work. Another interesting article in this number is one by Edmond S. Meany on the *First American Settlement on Puget Sound*. John V. Campbell relates some interesting personal experiences under the heading of *The Sinclair Party — An Emigration Overland Along the Old Hudson Bay Company Route*

from *Manitoba to the Spokane Country in 1854* in the July number. The material in the article was prepared for publication by William S. Lewis from letters written by Mr. Campbell. *Alaska under the Russians — Baranof the Builder* is the title of an article by C. L. Andrews. An entertaining paper on *Fort Hall on the Saptin River* is written by Miles Cannon. The concluding article is one on *Mining in Alaska Before 1867*, by F. A. Golder. Under the heading of "Documents" appears the first installment of the *Diary of Colonel and Mrs. I. N. Ebey*, with introduction and notes by Victor J. Farrar.

Volume thirteen of the *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society*, recently distributed, is a book of six hundred pages. The opening paper is a biographical sketch of the late *George Washington Martin*, by Perl Wilbur Morgan. Next come several articles by Charles S. Gleed and others, on the career of *Eugene Fitch Ware*, whose boyhood and youth were spent in Iowa and who served in Iowa regiments during the Civil War. Edward E. Wynkoop contributes a short outline of the life of his father, *Edward Wanshear Wynkoop*, who was well known in the West during the Civil War period as a soldier and Indian agent. In an article on *The Supreme Court of the State of Kansas*, by Edwin A. Austin, will be found some data concerning Daniel M. Valentine, who was successively county surveyor and county attorney of Adair County, Iowa, during the fifties. One hundred and twenty-five pages are occupied with original source material relative to *The Topeka Movement*. Of special interest to students of Iowa history is William E. Connelley's paper on *The Lane Trail* followed by free-state emigrants, which passed through Springdale, Iowa City, Sigourney, Oskaloosa, Knoxville, Indianola, Osceola, Quincy, Sidney, and other towns in this State. Other articles of general interest are: *National Aspects of the Old Oregon Trail*, by William E. Connelley; and *What I Saw of the Quantrill Raid*, by Albert R. Greene.

ACTIVITIES

At its meeting on September 6th the Jefferson County Historical Society paid a fitting tribute to the memory of its first president, the late Hon. I. D. Jones.

Among the recent manuscript accessions of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin are about twenty bound volumes of the correspondence of the law firm of Washburn & Woodman, which throw much light on the business ventures of Cadwallader C. Washburn.

The tenth annual meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association was held at Indianapolis on October 4 and 5, 1916, in connection with the Indiana State Centennial Celebration.

The following officers were elected at the annual meeting of the Historical Society of Marshall County on September 8th: Mrs. H. J. Howe, president; C. F. Schmidt, vice president; Miss Minnie Russell, secretary; Mrs. C. C. Trine, treasurer; and Mrs. Emma Weatherly, curator. Mrs. May Montgomery was appointed chairman of a committee to investigate the question of marking historic sites in Marshall County.

The Page County Historical Society has begun the collection and publication of reminiscences of early settlers and other data relative to the history of the county. In *The Clarinda Journal* for August 3rd and 31st there appeared two articles written for the Society by Miss Mabel H. Kenea. The first is an interview with Ruel C. Miller who came to Page County in 1854; and the second deals with early Clarinda fairs.

The Allamakee County Historical and Archaeological Society has recently come into possession of an enlarged photograph of David Lowry who was first a missionary and later the sub-agent for the Winnebago Indians in northeastern Iowa in the early days. The photograph was presented by Mr. Ellison Orr. At the meeting of the Society on August 9th provision was made whereby the secretary may loan the books and historical material of the Society to clubs and other organizations under certain conditions.

On Saturday, September 23rd, a conference of the Superintendents of historical societies in the Upper Mississippi Valley was held in Chicago, for the purpose of discussing the work of calendaring material in the archives at Washington, D. C., in which these societies are coöperating. Dr. Benj. F. Shambaugh was chosen chair-

man of the conference and Dr. Solon J. Buck, secretary; while the work is being directed by Dr. Milo M. Quaife. The work in the archives of the State Department has practically been completed, and each of the societies participating in the plan has been furnished with a card-index calendar. It is probable that Dr. N. D. Mereness, who is conducting the work at Washington, will next prepare a similar calendar of the material in the archives of the Department of the Interior relating to the States of Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

The research work conducted by the Society during the past summer has centered about the preparation of a large volume on *Statute Law Making in Iowa* which will be published this winter as volume three of the *Iowa Applied History Series*.

Dr. Daniel Sickler of Ogden, Iowa, a member of the Society, has a fine collection of Indian relics which he has housed in a small building erected for museum purposes.

Through the generosity of Mrs. N. W. Lyon of Garden Grove the Society has been permitted to make a copy of the extensive autobiography of her father, William J. Rodgers, which contains much interesting and valuable material concerning pioneer life in Iowa.

Dr. Fred E. Haynes's history of *Third Party Movements Since the Civil War with Special Reference to Iowa* — a volume of nearly six hundred pages — has been distributed to the members of the Society and to the official depositories.

In the July number of the JOURNAL there appeared a notice of the presentation to the State University of Iowa of a fine oil portrait of Theodore Sutton Parvin. Owing to the fact that Mr. Parvin was for many years the Secretary of The State Historical Society of Iowa, the portrait has recently been hung in the research room of the Society, where it is in fireproof quarters.

Professor Archer B. Hulbert of Marietta College delivered an address at the State University of Iowa on July 17th on the subject

"The Allegheny Barrier". He also spoke at a conference-seminar held in the rooms of The State Historical Society of Iowa, at which time his remarks related to western shipbuilding and the records of the inland ports of entry.

Dr. Irving King, a member of the Society, is the writer of an article on *Social Training Through School Group Activities* which appears in the September number of *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. Dr. King is Assistant Professor of Education in the State University of Iowa.

The following persons have recently been elected to membership in the Society: Miss Norma Edelstein, Iowa City, Iowa; Miss May E. Francis, Waverly, Iowa; Mr. Geo. A. Jewett, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. S. W. Johnson, Oelwein, Iowa; Mr. S. C. Jones, Iowa City, Iowa; President W. A. Jessup, Iowa City, Iowa; and Mr. Frank Sturdevant, Waverly, Iowa. Mr. J. W. Rich of Iowa City, Iowa, has been elected to life membership in the Society.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The sixth annual conference of the Society of American Indians was held at Cedar Rapids under the auspices of Coe College from September 26 to October 1, 1916.

The nineteenth annual meeting of the League of Iowa Municipalities was held at Dubuque, September 19-21, 1916.

On July 16, 1916, occurred the death of Mr. J. A. McKlveen of Chariton who was a member of the Thirty-second General Assembly of Iowa and for several years a member of the State Board of Health.

The finding of a large buffalo skull near Des Moines recently should offer evidence to disprove the statement occasionally made that there were no buffaloes in Iowa.

Mr. W. H. Robb of Creston died on September 19, 1916. He was a member of the Twenty-first and Twenty-second General Assemblies of Iowa, and was a leader in the Greenback and Populist parties in this State.

The first annual meeting of the Iowa Association of Economists and Sociologists was held at the State University of Iowa on October 6 and 7, 1916.

August 29th was the fiftieth anniversary of the arrival of the first railroad train at Des Moines. It is difficult to realize that it was not until after the close of the Civil War that the capital city of Iowa secured railroad connections.

Between three and four thousand people attended the old settlers reunion of Jasper County at Monroe on September 7th. A number of those present settled in that region in the days when Tool's Point was the principal settlement in that county.

Mrs. Henry Chambers of Louisville, Kentucky, died recently at Atlantic City. Her husband was a son of John Chambers, the second Governor of the Territory of Iowa; and it was by her that access was given to valuable letters and papers when a biography of Governor Chambers was being prepared for publication by The State Historical Society of Iowa.

The library of the University of Texas is making an effort to collect material relative to the history of the South. A fund for this purpose was established two years ago by Major George W. Littlefield of Austin — a fund which has recently been augmented by a generous additional contribution from the same source.

According to newspaper accounts plans are under way for the celebration some time this fall of the centennial of the establishment of Fort Crawford at Prairie du Chien. Various towns in northeastern Iowa are interested in the plans which include an elaborate historical pageant.

On August 29th, under the auspices of the local chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, there was formally dedicated at Spirit Lake a boulder and bronze tablet marking the site of the stockade and old courthouse where the people of Dickinson County were sheltered during the Indian uprising of 1861-1862. The principal address was delivered by Mr. Harvey Ingham of Des Moines.

On July 6, 1916, occurred the death of Mrs. Euclid Sanders of Iowa City, wife of the president of The State Historical Society of Iowa. Mrs. Sanders was the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Terrell, who were among the earliest settlers of Johnson County. She graduated from the liberal arts and law departments of the State University of Iowa in 1874 and 1877, respectively. Her public benefactions include the water power privileges represented in the old Terrell dam which she transferred to the State University, and the city park which she virtually donated to Iowa City.

CONTRIBUTORS

JACOB VAN DER ZEE, Assistant Professor of Political Science,
in The State University of Iowa. (See THE IOWA JOURNAL OF
HISTORY AND POLITICS for January, 1913, p. 142.)

RUTH A. GALLAHER, Library Research Associate in The
State Historical Society of Iowa. (See THE IOWA JOURNAL OF
HISTORY AND POLITICS for January, 1916, p. 156.)

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